

THE

AMERICAN

13C
CATHOLIC QUARTERLY

REVIEW.

Bonum est homini ut eum veritas vincat volentem, quia malum est homini ut eum veritas vincat invitum. Nam ipsa vincat necesse est, sive negantem sive confitentem.

S. AUG. EPIST. CCXXXVIII. AD PASCENT.

VOLUME XVIII.

FROM JANUARY TO OCTOBER, 1893.

BOSTON COLLEGE LIBRARY
CHESTNUT HILL, MASS.

PHILADELPHIA:
HARDY & MAHONY,
PUBLISHERS AND PROPRIETORS,
505 CHESTNUT STREET.

COPYRIGHT, 1891,

BY

HARDY & MAHONY.

70751

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

	PAGE
PAGAN VIRTUE. By <i>Very Rev. John Hogan, S.S.</i> , ...	1
The periods of history most devoid of religious belief have invariably been busiest with moral theories, 1; The reason of this, 2; Christian antiquity divided in opinion as to what measure of providential guidance was accorded to men outside of the Jewish and Christian dispensations, 3, 4; Newman's view, 5; Views of Plato and of Aristotle, 6; The Roman philosophers, 7-9; The practical extent of pagan virtue, 10-12; What the modern science of comparative religion has done towards solving the question, 13, 14; The author's conclusions, 15-18.	
A BABY'S FOOTPRINT AND OTHER VESTIGES. By <i>Rev. Thomas Hughes, S.J.</i> , ...	19
The activity of the reviews and magazines in paying tribute to Darwinism, 19; Instances of this, 20; Darwinians no longer try to find in the savage an intermediate term between the brute and man, 21; They now try to find it in the infant, 22; Their different theories about it, 23-25; Dr. Robinson's elaborate attempts to find proofs of it in a baby's footprint, 26-31; The author's lucid exhibit of the absurdity of Dr. Robinson's statements, 32-35; Another Darwinian's discovery of the language of monkeys, 36-37; Linguistics of parrots, dogs, and elephants, 37-39; M. Taine's notions, 41.	
THE IRISH CHRISTIAN BROTHERS. By <i>R. M. S.</i> , ...	42
When, where, and how the Institute of the Irish Christian Brothers was founded, 42; Its special aim and purpose, 43; How the work of the Irish Christian Brothers has grown and prospered, 44, 45; Father Burke's testimony to the excellence of the Christian Brothers' schools, 46; Their peculiarities, 47; Education without religion a curse rather than a blessing, 48; Success of pupils of the Brothers' schools in competing with pupils of other schools in the yearly examinations of the Board of Education, 49, 50; Efforts of the Brothers to promote the study of the Irish language, 51; Schools of the Brothers in Australia, Tasmania, New Zealand, India, and Newfoundland, 52, 53.	
A RETROSPECT (conclusion). By <i>St. George Mirart, F.R.S.</i> , ...	53
Influence of Cardinal Wiseman on the wane, 53; Cardinals Manning and Newman and Dr. Ward, contrasted, 54-57; Manning becoming more prominent and influential, 58; Newman's <i>Apologia Pro Vita Sua</i> , 59; The proposal to found a Catholic college at Oxford disapproved by the Congregation of the Propaganda, 60, 61; The question of Papal Infallibility, 62; The writer's reminiscences of his visiting in 1869-70, to Milan, Florence and Rome, 63-66; Gladstone's diatribe entitled "Vaticanism," and Newman's answer, 67; The writer's visit to Lourdes, 68; The project to establish a Catholic University in Kensington, 69, 70; Cardinal Manning's popularity with non-Catholics, 71; The writer's belief that social, scientific, and political evolution results in great advantages to the Church, 72-74; Dr. Ward's reply, 75; Dr. Newman created a cardinal and Bishop Vaughan made Archbishop of Westminster, 76, 77.	
THE ROMANCE OF THE "COUNTRY OF THE LAKES" AND THE APOSTLE OF LITERATURE IN DETROIT. By <i>Richard R. Elliott</i> , ...	78
The domain of the "League of the Five Nations," 78, 79; The Iroquois, the Hurons, and the French Jesuits, 80; Constitution of the Iroquois League, 81, 82; Missions among the Iroquois: their results, 83, 84; Formation of a confederacy of Indian tribes hostile to the Iroquois, 85; The English governors inciting the Iroquois against the French missionaries; double dealing of the French governors, 86; Re-establishment of the missions in the first part of the eighteenth century, 87; Punishment inflicted on the Iroquois by General Sullivan, 88; The French citizens of Detroit; their character, 89; Injudicious territorial appointments made by the President of the United States, 90; The land grants to original colonists, 91, 92; Patriotism and loyalty of the French, 93; Their encouraging education and literature, 94, 95; The Catholic Church in Michigan and the adjoining regions; religious and literary labors of Rev. Gabriel Richard, 96-99; Vigorous prosecution of missionary work in the lake regions, 100.	
WAS TENNYSON CONSISTENT? By <i>George Parsons Lathrop, LL.D.</i> , ...	101
Tennyson's first poetic ventures, 101; His subsequent productions; how they were severally received, 102-104; His failure as a dramatist, 105; A critical estimate of his "Queen Mary," 106-108; His "Harold," and his "Becket," 109; His songs, ballads, and other poems, during the last twelve years of his life, 110, 111; His "In Memoriam," 112-114; Tennyson's "Death of Ænone," his "Demeter," and "St. Telemachus," 115; His "Faith," "God and the Universe," "Doubt and Prayer," 116-119; His death, 120, 121.	

	PAGE
UNIVERSITY LIFE. By <i>Brother Azarias</i> , ...	122
The three agencies that moulded the Middle Ages and gave them life, 122; The University of Paris, 123; The oldest universities, their respective aims, 124; The Chancellor of Notre Dame and the Holy See, 125, 126; The "Four Nations" into which the students were divided, 127; Their disputes and disorderly conduct, 128, 129; The Rector, his power and revenue, 130; The fair held at St. Denis, 131; Inner life of a mediaeval university, 132; Course of studies, 133, 134; Qualifications required of a licentiate; how tested, 135, 136; Relations of the Dominican and Franciscan Orders to the universities, 137; The educational influence of the Franciscans, 138, 139; The purpose and mission of the Dominicans; thorough organization of their course of instruction, 140-143; Character of the professors and of the students, 144; How the Religions were regarded, 145; The grammar schools; what grammar included, 146; The "Place Maubert," and the instruction there imparted, 147, 148; Disputation, the chief element of university life; how it was regulated, 149, 150.	
SOCIALISM: ITS HARM AND ITS APOLOGY. By <i>Arthur F. Marshall, B. A. (Oxon.)</i> , ...	151
What socialism is; its fallacies; wherein the socialists of different countries disagree, 151-154; The theory of "Universal Compulsory Labor," 155; Father Cathrein on economics, 156; The relation of socialism to the family-life, to education, and to religion, 157, 158; Two important facts on the side of socialists, 159-162; The "Encyclical on the Condition of Labor," 163-165.	
UNIVERSITY EXTENSION OF CATHOLIC SUMMER SCHOOLS. By <i>Rev. J. F. Mullaney</i> , ...	167
The rapid spread of University extension; its purpose and object, 166, 167; How Catholics may best avail themselves of it, 168; Reports of what has been done in various places, 169-171; What might be accomplished if all the work that is now done by individual effort were stimulated and directed by a central organization, 172; What the Catholic Summer School has done, 173; Its location, 174; The work must go on, and on a broad and safe basis, 175.	
EDUCATION IN ANCIENT EGYPT. By <i>Prof. Charles G. Herbermann, LL.D.</i> , ...	176
Education, one of man's necessities, 176; What the author means by education, 177; What kinds of schools the ancient Egyptians had, 178; The difficulty of learning to read and write the Egyptian characters, 179; The arithmetical systems of the Egyptians, 180; Probable length of the elementary school course, and what it comprised, 181; The famous temple schools, 182; Extracts from Egyptian moral treatises, 183, 184; History had no place in Egyptian education, 185; Poetic literature was cultivated; specimens, 186, 187; Careful instruction in original composition, 188; Yet, as far as we know, the Egyptians did not know even the elements of grammar, 189; How far arithmetic and mathematics in general, were carried, 190; Specimens of problems, and methods of solving them, 191, 192; The scope of the temple schools was more extensive than that of our modern academies and colleges, 193; The Egyptians were profoundly religious, 194; What astronomy and geography included, 195; What attention was paid to the fine arts, 196, 197; Severe discipline of the temple schools, 198; They were open to every one, but were so expensive that few of the poor attended them, 199; Relation of the State to them, 200, 201.	
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICLE: SYSTEMS OF NUMERATION; A PLEA FOR THE DUODECIMAL. By <i>Rev. Thomas J. A. Freeman, S. J.</i> , ...	202
Introductory remarks, 202; The unal and the binal systems of notation, 203, 204; Other systems: from the quaternal up to the duodecimal, 205, 206; A table of equivalent expression of 100 numbers in twelve different systems, 207; Explanation of the table, 209; Examples of arithmetical operations according to the different systems, 210; Numeration, as it was in ancient times, 211, 212; Numeration among ourselves, 213.	
BOOK NOTICES, ...	214-224
THE AGE OF THE HUMAN RACE ACCORDING TO MODERN SCIENCE AND BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY. By <i>Rev. J. A. Zahm, C.S.C.</i> , ...	225
The age of the human race is a pivotal question; the reason of this, 225, 226; Speculations of rationalists and deists about it, 227-229; No real antagonism between true science and religion, 230, 231; When and by whom the first attack was made on the Biblical chronology, 232; Hindoo chronology and the famous zodiacs of Esneh and Denderah, 233; Champollion, Sir William Jones, Wilforth, Klaproth, Heeren, Lassen, Max Muller, Saint Hilaire, Cardinal Wiseman, and their several conclusions, 234-236; Chinese chronology, 237; Egyptian chronology; sources of information respecting it, 238; The most important chronological record yet discovered, 239; The wide differences of distinguished scientists in their computations, 240-242; New light thrown on the subject by erudite scientists, 243; Recent discoveries in Chaldea and Assyria; the wonderful library of Assurbanipal, and the invaluable information it imparts, 244, 245; How the Assyrians recorded time, 246, 247; What linguists and astronomers have to say, 248.	
THE HIGH CHURCH POSITION UNTENABLE. By the <i>Very Rev. Augustine F. Hewit, D.D., LL.D.</i> , ...	249
The numerous varieties of High Churchism, 249; The little daughter, in this country, of the Established Church of England, 250; Bishop Wittingham the best representative of High Churchism, 251, 252; The Tractarians, 253; Bishop Wittingham's attitude to all other Protestant sects, except the Episcopalians, 254, 255; The so-called "Orthodox Eastern Church," 256; The High Church position is	

the position of a party standing on private opinions, 257; A confederation of dioceses is merely a human and voluntary association, 258; The Oxford movement, and how it led to Rome, 259; Why High Churchmen wished to remain Protestant Episcopalians and yet be Catholics, 260-262; The Catholic system is essentially and especially reasonable, 263; The process of conversion, 264; Episcopalian High Churchmen turning towards St. Petersburg and Constantinople, Greece and Syria, 265; The Greek and the Anglican Churches, 266; The hierarchical organization of the Catholic Church, 267; The various phases the High Church movement has assumed, 268; Hopeful signs of the gathering of all baptized Christians into one fold, 269, 270; How the power of true religion might be augmented, 271.

LATIN HYMNS AND ENGLISH VERSIONS. By *Rev. Hugh T. Henry*, ... 272

The *Dies Ire*, and its countless translations, 272; The history of Catholic polyglot hymnology, commencing with the *Magnificat*, 273; The contributors to it, both Catholic and Protestant, 274-277; The *Stabat Mater*, 278; Another glory of Latin hymnology, 279; What is a *hymn*? 280; What the poetry of Christendom is, 281; The Christian singer must be a true poet, 282, 283; The purpose of a Christian hymn, 284, 285; The craving for more and better translations of Catholic hymns, 286; Cædmon, Chaucer, Jonson, Dryden, Scott, Wordsworth, Moore, 287; Protestant translations, 288; How the difficulties of translating monumental hymns have been combated; the *Pange Lingua*, various translations, 289-292; The *Dies Ire*, 293-294.

ENGLISH LIBERTY FROM THE REFORMATION TO THE TRIUMPH OF THE PRINCE OF ORANGE. By *Michael Hennessey*, ... 295

The guarantees of liberty before the sceptre passed from Catholic to Protestant rulers in England, 295-296; The Reformation destroyed those guarantees, 297; From the time of Henry VIII. till William of Orange triumphed over James II., England's government was either absolute or else monarchical, 298, 299; The Court of Star Chamber rendered futile all the provisions of *Magna Charta*, 300; James II., and his arrogant pretensions, 301; Charles I., and the Petition of Right, 301, 302; John Hampden, and his trial, 303-306; Charles's obstinacy and arbitrariness, 307; Macaulay and the Long Parliament, 308; Hallam's opinion of Cromwell, 309; The Restoration was a blessing, 310; What would have been the result if James II. had been a Protestant in religion and a Catholic in government? 311; The Revolution was the restoration of ancient liberty, 312.

THE LATELY RECOVERED APOCRYPHAL GOSPEL. By *Rev. Anthony J. Maas, S.J.*, ... 313

Description of the manuscript, 313; Scope and purpose of the author's article, 314; Ancient references to the so-called Gospel of Peter, 315; It contains the heresies of the Docete, 316; When it was written, 317; Chief representatives of the Docete, 318, 319; Comparing the alleged Gospel of Peter with other writings, 320-322; The practical bearing of this alleged Gospel on Christian Apologetics, 323; Its statements respecting the crucifixion and resurrection of our Saviour, 324-326; Opinions of modern critics about this alleged Gospel, 327; The writer's conclusions, 328.

THE LATE ARCHBISHOP ULLATHORNE. By *Arthur F. Marshall, B.A. (Oxon.)*, 329

The types of each generation become extinct as the generation passes by, 329; The history of Dr. Ullathorne is also the history of English Catholicism from 1815 to 1890, 330; The question of restoring the hierarchy in England, 331; Dr. Ullathorne and the dogma of the Immaculate Conception, 332; His visit to Rome, 333, 334; How he regarded the religious life, 335; Bishop Ullathorne and Dr. Grant, 336; Bishop Ullathorne's friendships, 337, 338; His visit to La Salette, 339; His spiritual writings and wonderful letters, 340, 341; His last illness and death, 342; His numerous converts, 343, 344.

NOTES TO SHOW THE NECESSITY OF TRUE RELIGION FOR RATIONAL MEN. By *Adrian Worthington Smith*, ... 345

Happiness in the natural order is impossible, 345; Without law extraneous to instinct, society would be a brutal herding, fatal to all but the strongest, 346, 347; How we know God and his attributes, 348-350; Certain accidents, that cannot attach to God, mark humanity's inferiority, 351; Our bodies at the resurrection, 352; The essential difference between good and evil, 353; What the essence of moral evil is, 354; Religious beliefs, what they are, 355; What this life would be, if it did not comprehend the responsibility of eternal life or eternal death, 356; Description of a so-called scientific opponent of dogmatic religion, 357; What such a person may become, 358; How we know God, 359-361; What Christians mean by inspiration, 362; What religion essentially is, 363; How the authority of God is manifested, 364; There can be no God if there is no certain guide acting under His immediate inspiration. How evil interrupts the action of the divine law, 366; Not repugnant to the goodness of God that there are some who are born and die without the Gospel, 367; True religion is the sure anchor of hope to mankind, 368; The Catholic Church is the Mystical Spouse of Christ, 369; The argument of affirmation, 370, 371.

CATHOLIC TENDENCY IN AMERICAN LITERATURE. By *George Parsons Lathrop, LL.D.*, ... 372

There can be no literature that does not express or imply the writer's views of religion, 372; Where American literature began, 373; The "Relations" and journals of Jesuit missionaries, 374; The Puritans, 375-377; The period following the American Revolution, 378; The first quarter of the nineteenth century, a loftier order of writing, 379-381; Longfellow and James Russell Lowell, 382-385; Nathaniel Hawthorne, 386-388; Ralph Waldo Emerson, 389; Father Hecker and Brownson, 390, 391.

	PAGE
MADAGASCAR AND CATHOLIC MISSIONS. By <i>Bryan J. Clinch</i> , ...	392
General ignorance of the changes that within our own times have occurred in Madagascar, 392; Description of Madagascar, its unique population, 393, 394; Its various relations with European powers, 395, 396; English Protestant missionaries, 397; The Hova dominions and Catholic missionaries, 398; The important change, both religious and political, in 1861, 399-402; The unfavorable influence upon Madagascar of the anti-Catholic politicians in France, 403, 404; What Catholic missionaries, nevertheless, have accomplished, 405, 406.	
MORE LIGHT ON THE ELECTION OF URBAN VI. By <i>Charles G. Herbermann</i> , LL.D., ...	407
The most important new evidence is a letter of Cardinal Robert, afterwards anti-Pope under the name of Clement VII., 407; What the letter declares, 408, 409; Its authenticity, 410, 411.	
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICLE. By <i>Rev. Thomas J. A. Freeman, S.J.</i> , ...	412
Systems of numeration; the requisites of a good system, 413; Superiority of the duodecimal system over all other systems, 414, 415; The adoption of the duodecimal, would simplify our tables of weights and measures, 416-421; The nomenclature of the proposed duodecimal system, 422-424; This system would give a convenient unit for liquid and dry measures, for weights, for coins, and for time; To the astronomer, the chemist, the engineer, the machinist, the merchant, broker, and the artisan, the duodecimal system would save more than one year's time in twelve; 425-428; The Niagara Tunnel, 429, 430; The lightning-bolt, 431; Ice and process for artificially making it, 432; Ice-machines, 433, 434; Physico-mechanical processes, 435-437.	
BOOK NOTICES, ...	438-448
EDUCATION IN ANCIENT BABYLONIA, PHENICIA AND JUDEA. By <i>Charles G. Herbermann, LL.D.</i> , ...	449
The profound interest that attaches to the strip of Asia that stretches from the Egean Sea to the Persian Gulf, 449; Who the Babylonians and Syrians were, 450; Whence they derived their art, science, system of writing, and religious ideas, 451; How far their chronology runs back, 452; At least as early as B.C. 2250 well-developed institutions of learning must have flourished, 453; Their extensive libraries, 454; How far education was diffused among the people, 455, 456; The temple and palace schools, 457; The number and complexity of the cuneiform signs make it extremely difficult to read and write them, 458, 459; The utilitarian character of the instruction imparted in the Babylonian schools, 460, 461; The Babylonian account of the deluge, 462; Attention paid to descriptive geography and natural history, 463; and to arithmetic, 464; Their weights and measures, 465; Their achievements in commercial arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, or astrology, 466-468; Their belief in future rewards and punishment, 469; Their liturgical worship, 470; Their jurisprudence, 471; Why Phœnician education should be especially interesting to us, 472, 473; They taught the Greeks their alphabet, the Babylonian weights and measures, the arts and sciences, 474; When the foundations of Jewish education were laid, 475; Long before Solomon's time the Jews adopted the Phœnician alphabet, 476; Great attention given to education, 477; What it comprised, 478, 479; The discipline of the Jewish schools, 480.	
ON THE OBSCURITY OF FAITH. By <i>Rev. R. F. Clarke, S.J.</i> , ...	481
The distinction between human and divine faith, 481, 482; An element of uncertainty is necessary to the exercise of human faith, 483; Divine faith, 484; Is sight compatible with faith? 485; Faith and reason do not occupy the same sphere of thought, 486; the obscurity required in divine faith; whence the obscurity arises, 487-489; St. Paul and St. Augustine, 490; Is faith compatible with what is evident in the natural order? Is it compatible with the clearness of supernatural evidences, 491; Is faith compatible with the beatific vision, 492; Whether faith were possible to our Divine Lord while He was on earth, 493, 494.	
COMMON SENSE OBJECTIONS TO THE POSTULATES AND CONCLUSIONS OF EXTREME EVOLUTIONISTS. By <i>Charles J. Armistead</i> , ...	495
Effects of the theory of evolution on the world's thought, 495; Every attempt to account for the origin of man, or of the universe, must take us back to a region of inscrutable mysteries. The Christian explanation rejected by different schools of extreme evolutionists, 497; Mr. Fiske's agnosticism; Professor Huxley's notions, 498; Extreme evolutionists cannot get out of the darkness of primeval chaos, 499; The contradictions in which they are involved, 500-502; The second stage of evolution; the famous struggle for existence, 503, 504; Evolutionists must abandon their agnosticism before they can take even a step in the line of their intended argument, 505; Sundry other difficulties to their account of our origin stated and illustrated, 506-512; Following the theory into the moral world, we are confronted with fresh difficulties and inconsistencies, 513-517.	
L'ANCIEN REGIME. PART I. By <i>St. George Mivart, F.R.S.</i> , ...	518
Civil condition of France prior to the death of Louis XIV., 518; The period of the "Ancien Regime," 520; Destructive influence of Jansenism upon social morality, 521; Weakness and profligacy of Louis XV., 523; "L'etat est moi," 524; Death of Louis XV., 525; Corrupt condition of "la bonne compagnie," 526; Its fondness, nevertheless, for scientific knowledge, 527; Louis XVI., disposed to absolutism, disregards the popular cry for reform, 528, 529; His opportunities, 530; Neglects them, and occasions a reaction, 532; Calls an assembly of notables, 533; Conflicts between the government and the parlements, 535.	

	PAGE
OUR CONVERTS. By <i>Richard H. Clarke, LL.D.</i> , ...	539
Increase of converts since 1776, 542; A list of converts, 543; Conversion of Colonel Lionel Brittin and son, 551; Of Rev. John Thayer, 553; Of Thomas S. Lee, 556; Of Prince Demetrius A. Gallitzin, 557; Of Adam Livingston, 558.	
THE AGE OF THE HUMAN RACE ACCORDING TO MODERN SCIENCE AND BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY. PART II. By <i>Rev. J. A. Zahm, C.S.C.</i> , ...	562
The antiquity of man according to geology and climatology, 562; Le Conte's, Buchner's and A. Langel's views of the antiquity of the human race, 563; Views of the Monistic school of Haeckel, Carl Vogt, Virchow, 564-569; What veritable science teaches, 570; Tertiary man a fiction, 570; Quaternary age not so ancient as supposed, 571; What climatology teaches, 578; Antiquity of the Ice age, 578.	
THE PRIMITIVE CREED OF MAN. By <i>Conde B. Pallen, LL.D.</i> , ...	588
Popular mission of the new cult, 589; Does an examination of the ancient heathen systems of religion show that the supernatural is superstition? 591; The true meaning of Greek polytheism, 591; Of Semitic polytheism, 593; The decay of primitive conscious nature-worship, the root of all polytheism, 596; The primitive creed that preceded polytheism, 600.	
ANTHROPOLOGY: A HISTORICAL SKETCH. By <i>Rev. Thomas Hughes, S.J.</i> , ...	604
Meaning of the term, 605; What man is according to modern science, 606; Syllabus of anthropological phenomena, 608; Results of the new science, 609; Outcome of Darwinism, 610; Lyell and Uniformatism, 614; Haeckel's Ontogeny and Phylogeny, 616; Darwin's theological by-play, 617-621; Spencer's Principles of Biology, 622; Grant Allen's deductive method, 622; Dr. Topinard's creed, 625; Anthropology and education, 626.	
THE INTELLECTUAL BASIS OF THE SUPERNATURAL. By the <i>Very Rev. Augustine F. Hewit, DD., C.S.P.</i> , ...	628
Statement of the design of the article, 629; The real and actual mode of the Incarnation, 629; The pivotal difference between the natural and the supernatural orders, 631; Moral perfection follows from intellectual perfection, 633; How rational beings in a state of perfection are related to God, 634; A natural destination to a supernatural end is a contradiction, 635; The supernatural vision of the saints of God the result of the beatific union, 636; Intellectual basis of the inchoate supernatural faith, 639; Summation of the argument, 640.	
THE POPE'S LETTER TO THE AMERICAN BISHOPS ON THE SCHOOL QUESTION, ...	642
English text of the letter, 647-649.	
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICLE: THE LIFE-SAVING SERVICE IN THE UNITED STATES. By <i>Rev. Thomas J. A. Freeman, S.J.</i> , ...	650
Old laws regarding wrecks and wreckers, 651; The Massachusetts Humane Society, 652; The Revenue Cutter Service, 652; Extent of sectional divisions, and character of the Ocean and Lake Coast of the United Service, 653-657; The Life-Saving Service stations and their equipment, 658-661; The management of the service, 662; Its cost, 665; Its accomplished results, 666.	
BOOK-NOTICES, ...	667
THE LIMITS OF PAPAL INFALLIBILITY. By <i>Rev. James Conway, S.J.</i> , ...	677
Statement of the dogma, 677; Conditions required of the Pope, 678; An "ex cathedra" decision to be infallible must be official, impose an obligation of assent, and proceed from the fullness of his apostolic office, 678, 679; It must be directed, directly or indirectly, to the entire Church, 679, 680; In extent Papal infallibility embraces all revealed truths, the entire deposit of faith, and their preservation and defence, 681, 682; Also dogmatic facts and dogmatic texts of human origin, 682-688; Also disciplinary laws and decrees; the canonization of saints; the approbation of religious orders; and the definition of the extent of his own official rights and those of the Church, 688-691; The form is not particular, but must embrace all the necessary conditions, 692-694; The Pope need not declare explicitly, in each document, that he speaks ex cathedra, 695; Nor is everything in an ex cathedra document ex cathedra teaching, 696, 697.	
INDIAN BIBLIOGRAPHIES. By <i>Richard R. Elliott</i> , ...	698
Notice of James Smithson, founder of the Smithsonian Institute, 698-700; Mr. James C. Pilling, of the Smithsonian Bureau of Ethnology, 701, 702; His bibliographies of the American Indian races, 702, 703; Causes of the decay of Indian races, 704-707; Eskimo bibliography, 707, 708; Siouan bibliography, 708-710; Iroquoian bibliography, 710-719.	
THE AGE OF THE HUMAN RACE, ACCORDING TO MODERN SCIENCE AND BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGY. PART III. <i>Rev. J. A. Zahm, C.S.C.</i> , ...	719
The antiquity of man according to pre-historic archaeology not established, 719; The "Three Ages" theory not established, 720-722; Dr. Schlieman's researches in Greece and Asia Minor disprove the theory and show progressive degradation, 722, 723; The errors connected with the theory, 723-726; No possibility of fixing exact dates to the "Ages," 726; Human remains, kitchen middings, tumuli, shell-mounds, lake-dwellings, erosions, deposits, etc., afford to the theory, 726-729; No agreement among scientists, 730-733.	

	PAGE
THE CHURCH IN HER HISTORY. By <i>Rt. Rev. Mgr. Robert Seton, D.D.</i> , . . .	734
General remarks, 734; Four great historical periods, 735; Sketch of the Church under Roman persecution, 736-739; During heretical persecution and the invasion of the barbarians, 739-741; From Charlemagne to the Reformation, 742, 743; The "Reformation" period, 744, 745.	
DR. HARNACK'S DOGMATIC HISTORY. By <i>Very Rev. Augustine F. Hewit, D.D., LL.D.</i> , . . .	746
Who and what Dr. Harnack is, 746; What primitive Christianity was according to Dr. Harnack, 748, 749; The Catholic Contention, 749; The Catholic Church in possession and prescription, 749, 750; Continuous denied, 750, 751; Dr. Harnack's views of the person of our Lord, 751; Of His resurrection, 752; Of His gospel and mission, 756; Dr. Harnack virtually denies the Trinity, 756-775; Dr. Harnack's positions unphilosophical and unhistorical, 772.	
THE IDEA OF EVOLUTION. By <i>Rev. John Ming, S.J.</i> , . . .	762
The unity of the Universe conceded by all philosophers, 762; Mr. C. Spencer not excepted, 763-765; James Scully's definition of Evolution, 766; Evolution is twofold in theory, 767, 768; The Scientific Theory, 768; The Philosophical Theory, 768; Mr. Scully denies any real distinction between spirit and matter, 769; His views of the "First Cause," 769; Herbert Spencer's "First Principles," 770; The theory is atheistical, 772; Incompatibility of the attributes predicated of the First Cause, 772-778.	
THE NEWEST RITUALISM IN ENGLAND. By <i>Amy M. Grange</i> , . . .	779
Rapid spread of ritualism, 779; Its path not smooth, 780; Varieties of ritualists, 781-783; Good produced by ritualists, 784; They are illogical, 785; Ritualism is now the fashion; 786; The hostility of ritualists to the Catholic Church, 787; Their claim to continuity with the pre-Reformation Church in England, 788; Doubt the validity of their orders, 790; How it may be an instrument of good, 791, 792.	
THE CLUNIAN AND HIS SONG. By <i>Rev. Hugh T. Henry</i> , . . .	793
Bernard of Morlaix, monk of Cluny, 793; The structure of his poem, 795-797; Dr. Cole's translation, 797; Dr. Neale's translation, 798; Author's translation, 798; Selection first, 798, 799; Remarks on the difficulty of translation, 799; Second selection with remarks on the wealth of Scriptural allusions, 800, 801; Third selection with remarks, 802-804; Fourth and fifth selections, 805-808; Remarks upon various versions, 809-811; How Protestants used the satirical portions of the poem, 811-814.	
REUNION OR SUBMISSION. By <i>Arthur F. Marshall</i> , . . .	815
Anglican idea of reunion, 815; The assertion of authority is itself a primary cause of obedience, 816; The Roman Catholic Church alone dares to assert the possession of authority, 819; Submission to her authority is the only basis of reunion, 821; The question "What is Truth?" is equivalent to asking "Where is the authoritative teacher"? 823; Submission is rational, 824; It may be distasteful but it is a duty, 825-829.	
UNIVERSITY COLLEGES: THEIR ORIGIN AND THEIR METHODS. By <i>Brother Azarias</i> , . . .	830
Criticism of M. Compayre's "Abelard," and the Origin and Early History of Universities, 830; The origin of university college life, 832-834; Robert Sorbon, founder of the Sorbonne, 835-837; Walter de Merton's theological foundation at Oxford, 838; William of Durham establishment of University Hall, 839; The Sorbonne in Paris and Merton in Oxford served as types of all mediæval colleges, 840; Relation of the colleges to the university, 841; Daily regulations, 842; Poverty of students, 843; Cost of instruction, 844, 845; Hazing, 846; Universities become secular and decline; the colleges increase in efficiency, 847, 848; Efficiency of Jesuit colleges, 849; The discipline, 850, 851.	
HOW WORDS CHANGE THEIR MEANING—AN INSTANCE. By <i>Edward Peacock, F.S.A.</i> , . . .	852
Etymology of the word "Hearse." Derived from <i>Hirpex</i> , a rake or harrow, 852, 853; Used to denote a triangular frame for holding candles, 854; Then used to denote a frame to support the funeral pall, 855; Then used to denote a catafalque, 856; Then a funeral car, 856, 857.	
SCIENTIFIC CHRONICLE. By <i>Rev. Thomas J. A. Freeman, S.J.</i> , . . .	858
Cipher. Origin and history of the word, 858, 859; What the art of secret writing has been called, 860; Methods practiced by the Greeks and Romans, 861; Modern works and methods, 862, 863; The deciphering of a cipher, 864-866; Table to be used in conjunction with a key, 868, 869; Impossibility of deciphering the last given cipher without a key, 870; Note on the Life-Saving Service, and new statistics, 878.	
BOOK-NOTICES, . . .	880

BOOK NOTICES.

PAGE		PAGE
894	As the Bishop Saw It.....	Hierurgia; or, The Holy Sacrifice of the
448	Atlas Historique et Geographique de la Bible	Mass..... 444
446	A Brief Text-Book of Logic and Mental Philosophy	Jesus, The All Beautiful..... 446
223	A Christian Apology	John and Sebastian Cabot: Biographical Notice, with Documents. By Francesco Tarducci. Translated by Henry F. Brownson..... 890
895	An Explanation of the Gospels of the Sundays and Holy Days.....	Lehrbuch der Theoretischen Philosophie Auf Thomischer Grundlage..... 883
217	A Formulary of the Papal Penitentiary in the Thirteenth Century.....	Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne..... 214
894	A Lady. Manners and Social Usages.....	Letters and Writings of Marie Latash, with Critical and Expository Notes... 893
447	Analysis of the Gospels of the Sundays of the Year.....	Life of St. Peter Claver, S.J., The Apostle of the Nations..... 893
895	An Octave to Mary.....	Life of the Most Rev. John Hughes, First Archbishop of New York..... 442
	Blessed Louis Marie Grignon de Montfort (Missionary Apostolic) and His Devotion	Logic and Mental Philosophy. By Rev. C. Coppens, S.J..... 446
223	Brendaniana, St. Brendan the Voyager, in Story and Legend.....	Magister Choralis. A Theoretical and Practical Manual of Gregorian Chant, Management of Christian Schools. By the Brothers of the Christian Schools. New York: P. O. Shea, Publisher. 1893..... 886
891	Brownson's Literary and Political Views. Breviarum Romanum.....	Marriage Process in the United States. By Rev. S. D. Smith, D.D..... 672
895	Cardinal Newman's Meditations and Devotions	Memoirs of Chaplain Life..... 892
888	Carmina Mariana	Moralphilosophie. Eine Wissenschaftliche Darlegung der Sittlichen, Einschliesslich Derrechtlichen. Ordnung: von Victor Cathrein, S.J..... 890
667	Catholic Science and Catholic Scientists. Ceremonies of Some Ecclesiastical Functions.....	Plain Practical Sermons..... 894
890	Constitutiones Dogmaticæ Sacrosancti (Ecumenici Concilii Vaticani ex Ipsius Actis Explicatæ atque Illustratæ. 224	Religious Problems of the Nineteenth Century..... 893
895	Christ in Type and in Prophecy.....	Saturday Dedicated to Mary..... 887
	Die Apostel geschichte Uebersetzt und Erklärt	Select Writings and Letters of Athanasius, Bishop of Alexandria..... 884
443	Die Bergpredigt in Ihrem Organischen Zusammenhange Erklärt.....	Short Sermons on the Epistles for Every Sunday in the Year..... 895
448	Die Grossen Weltrethsel. Philosophie de Natur.....	Sociale Frage und Ordnung; oder Institutionem der Gesellschaftslehre..... 440
438	Die Lehre von den Heiligen Sacramentender Katholischenn Kirche.....	St. Peter and the First Years of Christianity..... 221
445	Die Psalmen der Vulgata Uebersetzt und nach dem Literalsinn Erklärt	Tabulæ Systematicæ et Synopticæ Totius Summæ Theologie Juxta Ipsam et Doctoris Angelici Methodum Strictius et Clarius Exactæ..... 895
445	Die Psalmen, nach dem Urtexte Uebersetzt.....	Theologia Pastoralis Complectus Practicam Institutionem Confessarii. By Joseph Aertnys, C.S.S.R..... 447
445	Donn Piatt; His Works and His Ways.....	
892	Elements of Ecclesiastical Law.....	
885	Elocution as an Art; Its Precepts and Exercises.....	
674	Encyclopædie und Methodologie der Theologie.....	
446	From the Highways of Life.....	
889	God's Birds.....	
895		

	PAGE		PAGE
The Blessed Virgin in the Fathers of the First Six Centuries.....	886	The Manna of the Soul: or, Meditations for Every Day in the Year.....	222
The Catholic Priesthood. By Rev. Mi- chael Muller, C.S.S.R.....	674	The Physical System of St. Thomas.....	880
The Christian's Last End; or, Sermons on the Four Last Things: Death, Judg- ment, Hell and Heaven.....	888	The Religion of Science.....	895
The Dayspring from on High.....	894	The Witness of the Saints; or, the Saints and the Church.....	894
The Labors of the Apostles: Their Teach- ing of the Nations.....	893	Why, When, How and What We Ought to Read.....	895
		Zeal in the Work of the Ministry.....	224

THE AMERICAN CATHOLIC QUARTERLY REVIEW

VOL. XVIII.—JANUARY, 1893.—No. 69.

PAGAN VIRTUE.

IT is a remarkable fact that the periods of history most devoid of religious belief have been invariably the most busy with moral theories. The greatest teachers of antiquity,—Cicero, Seneca, Epictetus, Plutarch, flourished at a time when all faith in the gods had well nigh vanished from cultivated minds. Many centuries later, in England and in France, the decline of Christianity was the signal for a fresh efflorescence of ethical speculations, and in our own times, not only does the decay of supernatural religion coincide visibly with a growing concern to determine the true laws of life, but the same men seem impelled to labor with equal earnestness to bring about both objects. None of our modern writers assumes a loftier moral tone than Harrison, Arnold, or Huxley, whilst such men as Stuart Mill, Spencer, Greg, etc., who have done so much to destroy all Christian faith, have devoted much time and thought to the reconstruction of a system of ethics on other foundations.

The reason of this is not difficult to find. However much the bulk of men may be absorbed in worldly interests, however captivating may be to the few the pursuit of knowledge or the cultivation of art, however important to all the general progress of civilization by which all are benefited, yet there is in all at least a vague feeling, and in the more thoughtful a distinct conviction, of what Matthew Arnold so loves to repeat, that "conduct makes up the four-fifths of life," that is, that it is of incomparably greater importance than all the rest put together, and that the first thing for each man to know is his duty.

Now religion, so long as it is believed in, supplies that knowledge ready-made, and no need is felt of seeking for it elsewhere,

or striving to reconstruct it in another shape, or with other materials. Hence in the ages of faith, moral philosophy, as a science was not spoken of. The gospel was the acknowledged law of life, and its ideal characters were the saints. And so they remain to the present day with those who have kept alive the true faith in them. But to those who have lost it, the problem comes back as pressing and as perplexing as it came to the sages of antiquity, and drives them for a reply to some other source, or compels them to evolve it from the principles new or old, which they bear within them.

We know to what results their efforts have led them. Outside the Christian faith, the utmost confusion prevails in the minds of the ablest and wisest regarding the fundamental principles of the moral life. The widespread doctrines of materialism, of determinism and of evolution as commonly understood, are simply subversive of all morality. Agnosticism leads to no better results, and it is only by a series of the most ingenious efforts and happy inconsistencies that our modern guides maintain the semblance of a moral rule and a vocabulary expressive of the moral life. As to the Utilitarianism to which in one shape or another they are all ultimately led, it may be good enough as a practical rule for determining most of the duties of man; but it is only a rule, and a rule without a principle to rest upon or a sanction to sustain it, is of no practical value.

When we consider how signally the very ablest of our modern guides have failed in their voluntarily assumed task, we are less surprised to learn that many of our contemporaries craving in vain for light, yet strangely blind to that of the gospel, either lapse into the despondency of pessimism, or proclaim themselves followers of Buddha, or grasp eagerly at the phantoms of theosophy or spiritism flitting before their eyes under the attractive guise of science and mystery combined.

The attraction, happily, is not likely to be either very widespread or very durable.

But there is another ideal of human conduct more ancient and better known, which has at all times exercised a sort of fascination over the most noble and cultivated minds, and which seems still to some of those who seek for guidance outside of themselves, the safest refuge of a pure and exalted life. It is the classic ideal, made familiar to us all by the Greeks and the Romans. We know that these great peoples to whom we are intellectually indebted for almost everything, have been in particular among the greatest teachers of the moral life, and that their lessons and examples have exercised a deep influence even on Christian minds, in the course of ages. It is only natural, therefore, that those among us who,

bereft of Christian faith and eager, in the darkness that surrounds them, to catch some sight or sound which may lead them to the light, should gladly listen to the echoes which come down to them from the greatest and noblest minds of the past, and hope that what had awakened the early enthusiasm of their boyhood may still prove sufficient to show them a way through life.

It will not be without interest to consider how far such expectations may be fulfilled ; what measure of providential guidance was, as a fact, vouchsafed to men outside the Jewish and Christian dispensations, what ideals they formed to themselves of the higher life, and how far they succeeded in fashioning their own lives by them ; finally what even Christians may learn from those who lived and moved in the faint and flickering light of uncertain traditions and of a half-awakened conscience.

I.

The moral doctrines of paganism, to begin with, as understood and followed by the ancients offer such a strange mixture of good and evil, that it is impossible to extol or to censure them without manifold distinctions and qualifications. Christian antiquity, as a consequence, is divided in their regard. Those among the Fathers who looked around them and saw all that was corrupt and debasing in the beliefs and in the practices of the pagan world in which they lived, could hardly be expected to stay their indignation in order to see what elements of goodness might still be found in it. If, in the midst of their denunciations, the semblance of virtue came up before them, it was imputed to hypocrisy or to pride, whilst the better elements of pagan doctrine were held to have been borrowed from the books of the Old Testament. Others, like St. Augustine, taking a kindlier and, in reality, a more equitable view, contrived to discern, amidst the general perversion, abiding elements of beauty and truth. "If the Gentiles," he says, "had possibly something divine and true in their doctrines, our saints did not find fault with it, although for their superstitious idolatry and pride, they had to be detested. St. Paul when he said something about God among the Athenians, quoted the testimony of some of the Greeks, and this, if they came to Christ, would be acknowledged in them, and not blamed. St. Cyprian too uses such witnesses against the Gentiles."¹

The notion of there being something divine in the knowledge of the pagans, just hinted at in the above passage, comes out in bold relief in the writings of some of the early Greek Fathers. "It is clear, says Clement of Alexandria,² that the same God, to whom

¹ *De Baptismo*, l., vi., c. 44.

² *Strom.*, l., vi., c. 5.

we owe the Old and New Testaments gave also to the Greeks their Greek philosophy, by which the Almighty is glorified among the Greeks." And again, "God is the cause of all that is good, only of some good gifts He is the primary cause, as of the Old and New Testaments; of others the secondary, as of (Greek) philosophy. But even philosophy may have been given primarily by Him to the Greeks." Earlier still St. Justin has the following remarkable passage.¹ "One article of our faith, then, is that Christ is the first begotten of God. The very Logos (Universal Reason) of which mankind are all partakers: and therefore they who live according to the Logos are Christians, notwithstanding that they may pass with you for Atheists. Such among the Greeks were Socrates, Heraclitus, and the like, and such among the barbarians were Abraham, Elias, and many others. . . . Thus, then, they who have lived or are living according to the Logos are Christians, men without fear or trembling."

To this view of God's dispensation, already suggested in some measure by St. Paul in his discourse to the Athenians and in his Epistle to the Romans, yet much lost sight of in subsequent ages, the world has been unexpectedly brought back in our own times by that new and most interesting science, the Comparative Study of Religions. It is not too much to say that it has led the most thoughtful and most devout minds to a far broader view than commonly prevails, of God's dealings with the mass of mankind placed outside the pale of Jewish or Christian revelation. The earliest forms of all the ancient religions, they tell us, have much that is not unworthy of the true God; and though subsequently overlaid by superstition or perverted by passion, the old religions still retain noble and beautiful elements, as abiding pledges of God's providence to His less favored children, which at least served to keep them from lower depths of degradation and, here and there, to open up to them glimpses of a purer light and of a higher life. Nor would some of our modern investigators be unwilling to admit occasional manifestations of divine favor vouchsafed to them in the course of ages, such as are suggested to a thoughtful reader of the Bible by the presence of a prophet of God, Balaam, living in the midst of an idolatrous people, or of the sibyls, whose prophetic gift was commonly admitted among the early Christians and through the Middle Ages.

It is interesting to remark that long before the study of religions had developed into a science, Cardinal Newman had already reached similar conclusions. In one of his earliest works, the "History of the Arians," he wrote as follows: "We know well

¹ *Apol.*, i., 46.

enough for practical purposes what is meant by revealed religion, viz.: That it is the doctrine taught in the Mosaic and Christian dispensations, and is from God in a sense in which no other doctrine can be said to be from Him. Yet if we would speak correctly, we must confess, on the authority of the Bible itself, that all knowledge is from Him, and not only that which the Bible has transmitted to us. We are expressly told in the New Testament, that at no time He left himself without witness in the world and that in every nation he accepts those who fear and obey Him. It would seem then that there is something true and divinely revealed in every religion all over the earth, overloaded, as it may be, and at times even stifled by the impiety which the corrupt will and understanding of man have incorporated with it; so that Revelation, properly speaking, is an universal, not a local gift." . . .

"The Word and the Sacraments are the characteristics of the elect people of God; but all men have had, more or less, the guidance of tradition in addition to those internal notions of right and wrong which the Spirit has put into the heart of each individual. This vague and uncertain family of religious truths, originally from God, but sojourning without the sanction of miracle or a definite home, as pilgrims up and down the world, and discernible and separable from the corrupt legends with which they are mixed, by the spiritual mind alone may be called, after the example of Clement of Alexandria, the *Dispensation of Paganism*."

He continues, "Scripture gives us reason to believe that the traditions then originally delivered to mankind at large have been secretly re-animated and enforced by new communications from the unseen world; though these were not of such a nature as to be produced as evidence or used as criteria and texts, and roused the attention rather than informed the understandings of the heathen. . . . Job was a pagan in the same sense in which the Eastern nations are pagan in the present day. He lived among idolaters, yet he and his friends had cleared themselves from the superstitions with which the true creed was beset. There is nothing unreasonable in the notion that there may have been heathen poets or sages, or sibyls again, in a certain extent divinely illuminated and organs through whom moral and religious truth was conveyed to their countrymen, though their knowledge of the Power from whom the gift came, nay, and their perception of the gift as existing in themselves, may have been very faint or defective."

¹ *Arians of the IVth. Century*, pp. 79-82. See also in the same connection St. Augustine, Ep. 102, and *de Civit. Dei*, L. II., C. 7.

II.

Without committing ourselves to all that is implied in this view, we find enough in it that is unquestionable to induce us to give the ancients a favorable hearing, and we naturally look first to that period of antiquity in which the natural man seems to have reached the highest degree of development. We refer to the palmy days of Greece, when art in its most beautiful creations, literature in its noblest and most varied forms, philosophy in its boldest flights had lifted up that wonderful little people of the Hellenic peninsula to heights which have scarce ever since been reached. Nor are we disappointed in expecting that, from minds fertile in every other form of thought, beautiful moral teachings should come forth. No man, for instance, can lay down the works of Plato without feeling that he has gathered inspiration from them. In the brilliant pages of that great thinker he has learned afresh that the highest good is neither pleasure nor knowledge alone, but the greatest possible likeness to God; that virtue is found, not in enjoyment but in self-restraint, in the complete empire of the soul over the lower appetites; that virtue itself should be desired, not from motives of reward and punishment, but because it is in itself the health and beauty of the soul.

To Plato we are indebted for the first clear enunciation of that beautiful synthesis of the four cardinal virtues, which, embodied in the Greek philosophy and carried on to Alexandria, was canonized there by its admission into the inspired book of Wisdom, and later on became equally familiar to the philosophers of Rome and to the Fathers of the Church.

But in Aristotle was found a still greater master of the moral life. With his wonted subtleness of mind he traced back human action to its sources and followed it out in its various ramifications with such completeness and accuracy that when, after ages of Christian thought and experience behind him, St. Thomas, the most comprehensive and methodic mind of the Church, undertook to raise up a complete system of Christian ethics, he simply built it on the lines elaborately drawn out centuries before by the pagan philosopher.

Yet it is not to Greece that we must look for the highest expression or the noblest examples of the moral life among the ancients. Hers was the mission rather to train the minds and the tastes of mankind. The moral side man of had no predominance in her thoughts. Her ideal was not goodness but beauty—that beauty which comes of the highest possible cultivation of the individual, the most finished perfection of all the natural faculties. In order to find pagan virtue at its best we have to turn to the Romans.

III.

For many centuries the Romans practised the noblest domestic and social virtues without any aids beyond the traditions of their race and the dictates of their moral nature. Moral theories came to them at last only with Greek philosophy and the rest of the Greek culture.

Of those with which they then became acquainted, stoicism proved by far to be the most congenial to their national temperament. To put it in the words of Lecky:¹ "Long before the Romans had begun to reason about philosophy, they had exhibited it in action, and in their speculative days it was to stoicism that the noblest minds naturally tended. A great nation engaged in perpetual wars in an age when success in warfare depended neither upon wealth nor upon mechanical genius, but upon the constant energy of patriotic enthusiasm, and upon the unflinching maintenance of military discipline, the whole force of the national character tended to the production of a single definite type. War, which brings with it so many demoralizing influences, has at least always been the great school of heroism. It teaches men how to die. It familiarizes the mind with the idea of noble actions performed under the influence, not of personal interest, but of honor and of enthusiasm. It elicits in the highest degree strength of character, accustoms men to the abnegation needed for simultaneous action, compels them to reject their fears and establish a firm control over their affections. Patriotism, too, leads them to subordinate their personal wishes to the interests of the society in which they live. It extends the horizon of life, teaching men to dwell among the great men of the past, to derive their moral strength from the study of heroic lives, to look forward continually through the vista of a distant future, to the welfare of an organization which will continue when they have passed away. All these influences were developed in the highest degree in Roman life."

Their expression is found scattered more or less abundantly through the classical literature of Rome. But, if we would have it in all its power and completeness, we must take up the philosophical works of the period. The best known to our readers are doubtless those of Cicero, especially that beautiful code of moral duties, *De Officiis*, drawn up for his son, so elevated in tone and pure in teaching, that when, centuries later, a bishop and doctor of the church, St. Ambrose, undertook to lay down a plan of life for his clerics, he saw nothing better than to adopt the name, the outlines and many of the wise and noble counsels of the great Roman orator.²

¹ *European Morals*, i., 181.

² *V. De Officiis Ministrorum*, *passim*.

Yet to find the stoical inspiration at its highest, we have to come down to the writings of Seneca, to the reported discourses and sayings of the slave, Epictetus, to the meditations of the Emperor Marcus Aurelius, and in a less elevated, but perhaps more persuasive form, to the "Lives of Great Men" and the "Moral Essays" of Plutarch. Few writers, if any, have impressed their views of human life and duty more deeply than Plutarch on the three last centuries. And the influence has been, on the whole, most healthy and invigorating. His counsels, it is true, though full of experience and practical wisdom, are little calculated to beget enthusiasm. But his "Lives" make up abundantly for the deficiency. They exhibit and awaken, especially in the youthful reader, a keen appreciation of moral merit, and it is much to be regretted that a book which all boys delighted to read in former times should be known to so few in the present generation.

The others do not deserve less to be carefully studied. "Whatever may have been the dark and questionable actions of Seneca," observes Farrar,¹ "it is certain that, as a philosopher and as a moralist, he furnishes us with the grandest and most eloquent series of truths to which, unaided by Christianity, the thoughts of man have ever attained." The purest and most exalted philosophic sect of antiquity was "the sect of the Stoics," and stoicism never found a literary exponent more ardent, more eloquent, or more enlightened than Lucius Annæus Seneca. So nearly, in fact, does he seem to have arrived at the truths of Christianity, that to many it seemed a matter for marvel that he could have known them without having heard them from inspired lips. He is constantly cited with approbation by some of the most eminent Christian fathers. Tertullian, Lactantius, even St. Augustine himself quoted his words with marked admiration, and St. Jerome appeals to him as "*Our Seneca*."

Nor does Epictetus deserve less praise. His teachings and his examples are among the noblest that have come down to us from antiquity. The "Manual," in which his principal teachings had been set down, enjoyed a widespread popularity from the earliest times. It was resorted to by thoughtful Pagans for inspiration and guidance in about the same way as the "Imitation" is by Christians. Indeed, the early Christians used it freely themselves, paraphrases of it were written for their use, and, in modern times, the great St. Charles Borromeo, his historian tells us, carried it about with him for several years, as if to show what even one striving to be a saint might still learn from a Pagan. And, indeed, nowhere could he find many of the fundamental maxims of the

¹ *Seekers After God*, p. 5.

higher life more strongly emphasized;—independence of external goods, detachment, singleness of purpose, endurance and self-denial (*abstine et sustine.*) And if a picture of all that were necessary, where, outside of the Gospel and St. Paul, could he find it more vivid and more truthful than in the portrait of the perfect philosopher, or the “cynic,” as he calls him, drawn by the hand of Epictetus himself. “The cynic,” he says, “is a messenger sent from God to man to show them the error of their ways about good and evil, and how they seek good and evil where they cannot be found. This missionary has neither country nor home, nor land, nor slave; his bed is the ground; he is without wife or child; his only mansion is the earth and sky. It must be that he suffers stripes, and that, being beaten, he must love those who beat him, for he is at once the father and brother of all men. He must be perfectly unembarrassed in the service of God, not bound by the common ties of life, nor entangled by relationships, which if he transgresses, he will lose the character of a man of honor, while if he upholds them, he will cease to be the messenger, the watchman and herald of the gods.”¹

To such lessons the emperor, Marcus Aurelius, could find little to add, save the accent of unfeigned modesty, not to say humility, which pervades the “Meditations,” where day after day, during a dreary campaign he deposited his most secret thoughts.² But his great lesson to future generations was to have united for years the possession of unlimited power with a pure, unselfish, and devoted life.

The limits of our article forbid us to describe with more detail the teachings of this great school of natural virtue, nor indeed is it necessary, inasmuch as they are easily accessible to all our readers. Besides being summarized in every history of philosophy, they may be found beautifully set forth in Lecky’s “History of European Morals,” and still more recently in Canon Farrar’s “Seekers After God.” But nobody interested in the question can dispense with studying them in the original writings to which we have referred, and we venture to say that very few books will so abundantly repay the thoughtful reader for the time and labor he may bestow upon them.

There is one thing which he can properly understand in no other way, and that is the enthusiasm awakened by these remarkable works at the period of the Renaissance; how in that transient re-

¹ *Arrian*, iii. 22.

² We may add the deep and, we might say, Christian sense of the nothingness of worldly objects. “Soon, very soon thou wilt be ashes, or a skeleton, and either a name or not even a name, but name is sound and echo. And the things that are much valued in life are empty and rotten and trifling.” See translation by Long, and Farrar, *op. cit.*

suscitation of pagan tastes and pagan thought, men were more moved by the lessons of the ancient philosophers than by those of the gospel, and how, down to the present day, the pagan ideal of virtue continues to exercise a veritable fascination over minds on which faith has lost her hold, or whose temperament responds more easily to the stern mandates of stoicism than to the gentle and persuasive accents of the Christian law.

Yet stoicism, like all other human attempts to formulate a rule of human conduct, is, even at its best, very incomplete and very imperfect. "You can teach nothing," objected Lactantius, "because you are sure of nothing." And so it was with regard to some of their most important doctrines. These great teachers were mostly speculative, tentative, conjectural; they lacked assurance. Again they neglected whole aspects of human life, and misunderstood and misinterpreted others. Finally what is most valuable in their precepts has to be collected from among many more that are commonplace and worthless, or weak and artificial, or positively wrong; so that only those who are guided by another and a more searching light can separate the pure grain from the chaff. But what stoicism most failed in was motive. True it appealed to some of the highest impulses of human nature; self respect and the sense of duty. But the highest motives are not ordinarily the most powerful, and a moral system, to govern society, must accommodate itself to common characters. The old notions of the responsibility of life following a man through the portals of death and determining his future had well nigh vanished from the minds of the stoics. They had little if any belief in any kind of after life, and their very notions of that God whom they so often named were of the haziest kind. No wonder that, whilst acting powerfully and with the happiest results on a narrow circle of disciples or readers, they utterly failed to reach the multitude, and that their beautiful speculations live in history only as a monument of what the mind of man may rise to in the moral order without a corresponding power to lift up mankind to its level.

IV.

This leads us to examine the next question,—the practical extent of pagan virtue. For virtue is a product not of the mind but of the will,—not a theory, but a form of action and life.

The question is then how near pagan life in its best representatives came to the high order of virtue which constituted the pagan ideal.

Some may be tempted to look, for an answer, to abstract principles, viz., to their theological conceptions of the weakness and wickedness of the natural man. But for various reasons such an appeal could lead to nothing.

1. For, first of all, the power for goodness of the natural man is a very indefinite quantity. That, in the great mass of mankind, it is painfully weak and faltering, we all know from daily experience, no less than from the traditional teaching of the Church. But it varies from one man to another, like all the other qualities of body and soul. From the very beginning of life, goodness reveals itself abundantly in some, whilst in others it is almost entirely absent, and the little that shows itself is weighed down and dwarfed by a heritage of vicious propensities. We can well conceive how favorable surroundings, wise lessons and examples of virtue combined together and acting on a naturally good and gifted soul, may lift it up to a high order of natural virtue. This is no mere fancy. In our daily experience we meet persons at every period of life showing scarcely any of the humiliating traits of our fallen nature. They are instinctively and without any seeming effort, upright, truthful, kindly and pure. An innate horror of what is evil strengthens them against ordinary temptations, and in cases of greater peril they seem ever equal to the emergency. Yet they may not be Christians. Missionaries have found such people in the midst of paganism, waiting as it were, for the higher gift, and accepting it at once as a something congenial to their whole nature.

True all this may be the work of grace; but are we sure that it is so in all cases of the kind, and that the gifts of nature, even where bestowed most lavishly, would be unequal to such results?

2. However that may be, grace once admitted as a factor in the life even of a pagan—and it is the common teaching of theologians that help from above is never wanting to those who need it—there is no reason *à priori* why it may not come in such abundance as to raise up such a life to the highest level of natural goodness. And if, in addition to this, we remember that according to the opinion of some of the best theologians, there has always been a possibility of Divine faith for many outside the pale of Jewish or Christian revelation,¹ we are free to admit when we seem to light upon them, cases of a high order, not only of natural, but even of supernatural virtue.

We are thus brought back to consider the question purely as a question of fact, entirely dependent on historical evidence. But, from the nature of the case, this evidence can only be of a very imperfect kind. For it seems equally true of all times and of all phases of civilization, that what is best in human nature is comparatively unnoticed. And doubtless it has been especially so in that portion of humanity which never had been reached by more

¹ See St Thomas, *De Veritate*, quæst. xiv., art. 11, and Sum. 22, 9; ii., a 7 ad tertium.—Lugo, *de Fide*, *Disp.*, xii., No. 51, etc.

than a few lost rays of revealed truth. We get a passing glimpse in the narratives of the Old and New Testaments of good and worthy men in such conditions. But how many more must have crossed the scene of life leaving no record behind them! We have therefore to be satisfied with those whose names and deeds have come down to us, and our judgment of them must be qualified in various ways, for many are known only under a single aspect of their lives, or by a solitary deed, and when the whole man is presented to us, we have still to ask ourselves whether the portrait is true to nature, or idealized by the imagination of the historian.

But taking the presentation as it stands, it gives rise to the following remarks:

1. Single traits of character of the noblest and most beautiful kind abound, as all know, in Greek and Roman history. There is not a virtue known to the ancients which has remained an idle speculation among them. Courage, love of country, self command, filial devotion, loyalty to truth, reverence for the gods, every form of human goodness, such as it was understood by them finds in their history some of its highest and purest illustrations.

2. Not only do we find such illustrations in the shape of isolated actions, but also in the general tone and tenor of lives better known to us. Nowhere do more attractive and elevating types of character occur than in Greek and Roman history. Our classics have made many of them familiar and dear to us. The "Lives" of Plutarch in particular have introduced to us some of the noblest; and, even from a moral point of view, we feel that such names as Socrates and Marcus Aurelius reflect honor on the human race.

3. And yet we cannot be blind to the incompleteness of such characters: we cannot help missing the fulness of beauty which the gospel alone has imparted to human life. The typical Roman might have been upright, self controlled, capable of high efforts of self-sacrifice and ready to relinquish life rather than forsake his duty; but pity, forgiveness, chastity, reverence for the inalienable rights of manhood, to say nothing of the higher Christian virtues, were strangely wanting in him. Above all we habitually miss in him the inner principle which is the touchstone of all true virtue. "I trample on thy pride," said Diogenes to Plato, as he contemptuously trod on the rich carpet of the philosopher. "With a pride of thy own still greater," was Plato's reply. This is what so lowered pagan virtue in the eyes of the Fathers. Under the external guise of a beautiful life they detected habitually the secret working of pride and vanity. "Sometimes," says St. Augustine, "patent vices are overcome by other and hidden vices which are reckoned virtues, though pride and a weak assumption of self-complacency are their informing principles." That such was com-

monly the case is the conclusion to which all close students of antiquity in its moral aspects are unhappily led.¹

V.

We have confined our remarks thus far to human virtue as it is met in classical antiquity. But the modern science of comparative religion has opened up a much wider field for investigation. The sacred books of the East, long entirely unknown to the Western world, and until quite recently accessible only to a few, now lie open to all in the various translations of them which have been given to the public. We now know for the first time accurately and fully, what conceptions of moral duty guided countless generations of men, in Egypt, in Assyria, in the far East, long before Christ came on earth, and still guide at the present day the two-thirds of the human race. To any one who realizes the value of immortal souls, these doctrines have a deep and solemn interest, especially those of Brahmanism, Buddhism, Mohammedanism, three forms of religious thought in which hundreds of millions of men live and die and go before God.

We cannot attempt here to study them in detail. Suffice it to say that the religion of the Hindoos, lost to-day in the most corrupt forms of popular superstition, exhibits in its earliest phases, and in the actual teachings of the most enlightened Brahmins, the noblest and purest conceptions of God and of the moral life. Buddhism which proceeded from it is something more wonderful still, developing forms of asceticism which bear so striking a resemblance to those of the Catholic Church that they have seemed to many to be directly copied from them. Poverty, chastity, religious obedience, confession of sins, spiritual direction, corporal austerities, meditation, fasting, prayer, no single exercise of the spiritual life as understood by Christians is wanting in the system. Self-conquest and universal charity constitute its fundamental maxims. Like the Christian religion, it has its places of special devotion, its pilgrimages, its relics and its saints.²

Strange to say, the same flower of asceticism has blossomed on the stem of what is commonly looked upon as the most sensual of

¹ *De Civitate Dei*, lxxi., c. 16. St. Augustine reverts frequently to that same view. See it amply developed in one of his letters to St. Jerome (III., Class, Ep. 167, N. 7, 8, 9).

² The life and doctrines of Buddha have been the object in recent times of a considerable number of writings, original or translated from various Eastern languages. We may mention, as deserving special notice, the work of Bishop Bigandet: *The Legend of Gaudama*, containing a most interesting account of the organization and practices of the Buddhist monks; also Abbé de Broglie, *Histoire des Religions Ch. Bouddhisme*. An outline of the Buddhist doctrines will be found in most of the encyclopædias.

all religions, Mahometanism. Indeed the ascetic was no more wanting than the mystical element in the complex nature of Mahomet himself. His religious enthusiasm and his personal strictness in certain matters had much to do with his success, and the twofold spirit has never ceased to belong to the traditions and practice of Islam. The Sufites, like the Buddhist monks, present the doctrine and practice of mortification, poverty, contempt of the world and cultivation of the contemplative life. The lives of the most celebrated among them bear a striking resemblance to the lives of the saints. Thus the hagiologists of Moslem tell us of one of those whose whole system of life was summed up in two maxims: Contempt of the world and trust in God. His scourgings and revilings, they add, only drew from him expressions of joy that he was counted worthy to suffer thus for God. Three things were the subject of his constant prayer: that he might never have any certainty of the morrow's subsistence; that he might never be in honor among men; and that he might see God's face in mercy at the hour of death. Such things rise to the level of the highest Christian virtues, and even if we question their strict historical truth, they still remain as undoubted ideals of a most perfect form of life.

The same may be said of the "Book of Counsels," written in the 12th century and full of the same spirit. "In reading it," says Mr. Lilly,¹ "we are reminded at one time of the *Imitation*, at another of the *Spiritual Combat*, and again of the sapiential books of the Christian canon. The writer begins by invoking the name of God—the All-bountiful and All-merciful, essentially holy in His nature and exempt from all imperfections. . . . A confession of sin and prayer for pardon follow, conceived in a strain of intense realization, on the one hand, of the corruption of human nature as seen in the light of the divine perfections, and, on the other of the illimitable mercy of God. 'Thou doest only good. We have done very wickedly. Every instant of our existence has been marked by new faults. We have never once obeyed Thy laws with a heart entirely submissive and content. A fugitive slave I approach Thy gate. Shame hath covered my face. But Thou hast Thyself commanded Thy servants not to give themselves up to despair. Thou shall purify me from my sins before Thou turnest me to dust.' The fifth chapter treats of the battle which must be delivered to inordinate affections and corrupt inclinations, and celebrates the excellence of voluntary poverty, to which nothing is preferable, of obedience, of mortification, of detachment from all created things, the indispensable instrument of true and lasting felicity.

¹ *Ancient Religion and Modern Thought*, p. 174.

“The whole chapter might have been written by a disciple of St. Francis. The following, on the advantages of silence, is worthy of a Trappist. Indeed the whole book is full of the deepest maxims of spirituality and the most elevating thoughts; in fact, by the virility, the simplicity, the directness and dignity of its tone, it deserves a high place among the Manuals of Piety.”

Here again we are not concerned in the present connection to know whence came such noble inspirations. Whether they were the outcome of naturally religious minds, or a lesson taken from the pages of past or contemporary Christian life, or a direct gift of God to His less favored children, it matters not; as a fact, we find them there—pure and bright ideals in the midst of Mohammedan corruption.

And, as happened in the religion of Buddha, the principles of asceticism led to the creation, among the Mohammedans, of the monastic life. Mohammedanism has its religious orders in great number and variety, with their distinctive doctrines and practices. It has had its religious heroes, its saints, men who strove earnestly to follow the “counsels” and with such success that their influence in life and after death has been one of the greatest religious forces in the world of Islam. Nobody can read books of eastern travel without meeting frequent and striking instances of the devotion of which they are the objects. Their lives, written for popular edification, closely resemble those of our saints, being mostly composed of striking events, providential leadings and miracles wrought in their lifetime or after death, whilst their remains, over which costly monuments have often been erected, are visited year after year by thousands of devout pilgrims.

VI.

It remains for us to point out briefly the conclusions which are suggested by the facts on which we have dwelt in the foregoing pages. It follows, in the first place, that the nations of the earth have not been so forsaken of God in the course of ages as is generally supposed. In many particulars they show themselves our equals; and however much their speculative doctrines may have sunk beneath the level of divine, or even of natural truth, at least they have left behind them noble examples to imitate and moral teachings not unworthy of a true and divinely taught religion. It cannot indeed be denied that their teachings have neither the authority nor the sanction of the Gospel; yet there is sometimes in them a force and a freshness which we miss in the more familiar, because oft repeated forms in which we have learned our moral duties. The human conscience like the human ear, catches more readily unaccustomed sounds, and the voice of nature as it comes from

the depths of ages and from the ends of the earth, proclaiming the same law as is heard around us and within us, gives to the latter a new power and efficacy. A wise maxim of Seneca can add nothing to the corresponding truth in the gospel, yet it makes us feel that truth more deeply, if only by showing that before revealing it through Christ, God had already revealed it to the human heart.

This is especially true of certain moral lessons of a more unwelcome kind, and against which the human spirit is ever up in arms. We refer to those which constitute what is commonly called asceticism. To asceticism the modern mind is openly hostile. It is looked upon as an arbitrary interference with the natural happiness of man, a cloud drawn over and darkening the brightness of life, a sort of superstitious practice born of ignorance and unworthy fear which fortunately the world has outgrown. The great mass of Protestants have discarded asceticism as a theory and practically banished it from their lives. Many Catholics are little removed from them in that respect. Voluntary privation, corporal austerities, self-restraint in any form, save to avoid sin, comes to them as something strange and meaningless. Yet asceticism has never been confined to the Jewish or Christian dispensations. It has its place, as we have seen, in all the great religious doctrines of the past, and it continues to flourish wherever a belief in them has survived. It mingles with the abstract speculations of Pythagoras and with the poetic fancies of Plato. It is a law of the stoic philosophy. It breaks forth in the heart of Moslem as a protest against the sensual tendencies of the Koran, and raises up among the followers of the prophet types of a purer and worthier life. It is the very essence of the religion of Buddha. Fasting, silence, restriction of all the senses, voluntary obedience, a perpetual sacrifice of the feelings and of the will, are to the hundreds of millions of the disciples of Gautama, the normal means of spiritual progress. Surely a universal and abiding fact like this points to a condition of human nature and to requirements beyond what is recognized by contemporary thought, and gives a strange and unexpected emphasis to the austere teachings of the Gospel and of the Saints.

The lessons of "pagan virtue" go farther still; they lead us directly to Religion. The secular spirit of our day would fain discard religion altogether, or merge it in morality. To the adepts of positivism and agnosticism, religion is only an idle and curious speculation; conduct alone is important, and to deduce its laws from the facts and experiences of life should be our only concern. But what if the experience of life claims something beyond? or to put it in the words of one of the ablest exponents of modern thought:¹ "Can then religion mean no more than that we should

¹ Seeley, *Natural Religion*, p. 133.

pay our debts, keep our engagements and not be too hard on our enemies? For nothing more than this have so many temples been built, so many psalms been sung, so many penitents retired from the world, so many saints and prophets wrestled with their own souls, so many martyrs sacrificed their lives? Would that invisible choir be satisfied now with the fruit of its labors could it but see mankind made moral, the planet inhabited by well-behaved people, with their passions under control, leading intelligent and reasonable lives? And this result once attained, would the world be absolved from all religious duties for the future? Will the civilized community of the future, furnished with the school and the press, see without concern the euthanasia of religion and look back upon its historic splendors as at the mere transient sunrise of a calm day?"

The answer comes back from the ancient world and from all races of men, in lowest whispers and loudest tones, in prayer, in sacrifices, in deeds of atonement and in mystic contemplation, as in so many divers tongues, all expressing the same need of something more than virtue—holiness—intercourse and union with God. The religious, or as some choose to call it, the mystical element is therefore neither local nor accidental; it is one of the fundamental, constitutive elements of human nature, ever varying in expression, form and measure, yet ever pointing in the same direction and leading to the same end.

And yet, whilst thus revealing the essential needs of the soul, the purely human doctrines of the past prove utterly inadequate to satisfy them. We admire its beautiful teachings, but from what a mass of errors we have to extract them, and when all have been put together, how much is still missing, as we have seen, to make a perfect law of life? And of what was seen and set forth by prophet or sage, how little reached the ears of the multitude? how much less still got hold of their hearts? Simply to tell men what is virtue and to extol its beauty is insufficient. In Christianity alone, in the Gospel, do we find the highest moral doctrines brought down to the level of the humblest minds. In the true Church alone do we find a large popular movement toward the higher virtues. A Catholic cannot study her history and her life without being proud to belong to her. But if he would intensify the feeling and carry it to its full height, he must look outside, follow those of his race who have had to go through life bereft of divine guidance, watch their outstretched hands and tottering steps as they reach outside themselves for what their conscience, though awakened, is unable to supply. Then indeed will he feel sweetly compelled to kneel in adoration and thanksgiving for the bright, steady and unfailing light in which it has been his privilege always

to live. *Quia non fecit taliter omni nationi, et judicia sua non manifestavit eis.*

But at the same time he will be stirred up to a healthy emulation. With his superior knowledge and enlightenment, he cannot consent to fall short of the measure of virtue which in so unfavorable circumstances others contrived to reach. With the tender exhortations and the solemn warnings of the Gospel ever in his ears, he cannot think of being less strict with himself, less watchful, less self-denying than pagans have been. Pagan virtue has to be for him, as it is in the Gospel; not the term but the starting point: *Nonne et ethnici hoc faciunt?*

It has to be his starting point too as a foundation on which the whole structure of the higher Christian life should be built. For pagan virtue, when genuine, is but human virtue unenlightened by the Gospel, and it is on the fundamental rectitude of the natural man only that the work of grace can stand. What would Christianity be in a soul from which justice, truthfulness, self-command and self-restraint are absent? What supernatural virtues could make themselves at home in a selfish heart? What fruits of the higher life could ripen in a soil devoid of the warmth of human kindness? Energy, courage, devotion to duty, patience under trial, contempt for petty objects, a readiness to merge all personal interests in a noble cause, what are all these but the old Roman pagan virtues, and what life is anything but contemptible without them? This is why our forefathers loved to place youth at the schools of the ancients; not merely to put them in contact with the most exquisite forms of literature and art, nor yet to make them feel the universal radiance of fresh life to be found in no other period of history in the same degree, but that they might imbibe something of the lofty thoughts and generous aspirations and noble impulses of the great men of Greece and Rome, and that in their turn they too might some day prove themselves men.

J. HOGAN.

A BABY'S FOOTPRINT AND OTHER VESTIGES.

THERE are not many signs visible that reviews and magazines intend to grow at all remiss in honoring with their monthly tributes the genius of Darwinism. We find it to be quite otherwise. New subjects of investigation are constantly being brought up, and the conclusions which are deduced point ever in the same direction, with the fixity of a scientific fatality. It is not so much the general theory of the descent of man from brute beasts that absorbs the attention, and consumes the labor of investigation spent upon the matter. The truth of that theory is taken for granted; it is transcendental; long ago it was settled. Nearly twenty years ago, the denial of evolution could be treated with disdain, "as not worth serious consideration."¹ How much more so now! Hence the contributions of all investigators, whether regular or intermittent, professional or amateur, are brought to bear upon the theory, as illustrating it; they merely bring to light multitudes of diverse facts, which afford corroborative illustration.

It is very necessary to take note of this. For, without this precaution, the candid inquirer or casual reader, who perused any of the contributions to the literature of this subject, might possibly be discouraged from ever addressing himself to the question again. The crudities of thought which are distributed over matters of observation, the levity of logic which is applied to facts, themselves most commonplace and scarcely worthy of being offered to the public as the outcome of "research," are apt to throw the candid mind back into a consciousness of inability to comprehend,—a consciousness of being unable, perhaps, to do any justice whatever to a question, wherein, if it is correct in understanding anything at all, it can discover only puerility, levity and shallowness, as well in the facts adduced, as in the assumptions originally made and the deductions finally drawn.

One review of high standing permits a physician to show how the footprints of a very young infant exhibit the vestiges of arboreal habits in its ancestors; and again, how the child's grip substantiates the same conclusion.² The last August meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Science presented quite an animated scene on "monkey day," when, in the Anthro-

¹ Prof. Huxley, "On the Study of Biology."

² *The Nineteenth Century*, May, 1892, and November, 1891; Dr. Louis Robinson.

pological Section, the same doctor entertained his admiring listeners with further particulars of his admirable researches. Other magazines have been taking note of an examination into the language and talk of monkeys, as conducted by an R. L. Garner; and this erudite scientist, having now made the acquisition of knowing and understanding the same language, publishes a book on the "The Speech of Monkeys." A lady quite in sympathy with the advance of such enlightenment sends to a magazine her own account of a marmoset. She gives the monkey words for "Come," "Danger!" "Save me!" "I want something," etc. She tells us that, a hundred years ago, the chatter of the tiny marmoset was reduced to translatable articulate language by a French writer, who published a book on the subject. From these and other facts it appears that, whether or not there are very exceptional varieties in the world of monkeys, apes and baboons—"sports," they are technically called—there are certainly not a few "sports" in our own human kind, exempting neither occupation nor sex from the law of morbid variation in science and sense.

It is well known that the whole scientific theory in question has been based from the beginning on the existence in organic beings of a universal analogy or likeness, which is certainly quite demonstrable. Hence the theory has also been proposed as demonstrable, that, given a resemblance between two or more beings, their origin must have been the same; and, given a universal analogy in all organic nature, all organisms must have had the same origin, either descending from the same, or somehow from one another. Thousands of years ago this argument had been used by Anaxagoras. But then the application of such premises to draw such conclusions was sporadic; nor had it to wait for Christianity to weed it out of philosophy. Aristotle could see that resemblance between beings did indeed mean a plan common to them. But oneness in the plan did not, of necessity, mean a mutual or common descent of one species from the other, or of all from an identical stock. One plan meant one mind to conceive it and to execute it. Nevertheless, this identical theory of the fortuitous growth of organisms, with functions and uses proceeding fortuitously, is the deliberate culture to-day of exact scientific thought. The fund of demonstrative proof is still the same as that which Darwin invested in the enterprise. It is the likeness of all organisms in certain fundamental principles, and the bare possibility that individual variations may have originated all the profound specific distinctions.

The state of mental conviction arrived at in the course of demonstration is not yet so absolute, but that "belief" may be

allowed some play, and is judged to be quite consonant with the exactions of strict science. In fact, it is candidly urged in favor of "belief," that it is all we can bring to bear upon the subject, and therefore belief is conviction. So Mr. Romanes says in the last section of his very latest work.¹ These are his words: "In popular writings, we often find it taken for granted that any scientific doctrine is then only regarded as scientific when it is demonstrated." We must admit that we had been laboring under this impression. He goes on to warn us that, although "we should ever strive for the attainment of better evidence, scientific caution of such kind must not be confused with a mere ignorant demand for impossible evidence." Then he proceeds: "If, as Bishop Butler says, 'probability is the very guide of life' (Yes, of life!) assuredly no less is it the very guide of science; and here, I submit, we are in presence of a probability so irresistible that to withhold from it the embrace of conviction (!) would be no longer indicative of scientific caution, but of scientific incapacity." This pathetic pleading, translated into common language, signifies that since he, a capable scientist, has devoted 437 pages to the proof of Man's Mental Evolution, without succeeding in proving it, and without hope of doing any better, if you will not accept it after all that, and believe it with an absolute conviction of its truth, you are scientifically incapable.

This only means that we must accept the word of his authority for it. We are glad to find that some men's word has value; for by adducing a few scientific authorities we may escape the charge of incapacity. From our own fund, however, all that we crave to use is what cannot be ungraciously refused even to the scientific "layman"; and that is a little philosophy and logic, or what we may call some philosophical criticism on the merits of the case.

I.

Most of the lines of special investigation, or, as we should rather call it, of very general illustration of evolution, converge to-day on the human infant as an intermediate term in the progress of specific development from the brute up to man. In whatever direction we look, we find the hapless infant pursued and held down as an indispensable intermediary between man and the brute. It used to be the savage who enjoyed the exclusive right of entertaining science, as at a half-way house. But his demands have proved exorbitant; and the infant, a poor, harmless creature who cannot speak for himself, has been installed along with him. The savage has shown himself so hard-headed, his brain is so

¹ *Mental Evolution in Man*, ch. xvii., p. 437.

big, and altogether his frame is so far gone in humanity, that a gentle complaint is now being raised, and a longing expressed for the genuine savage, who—it is plaintively put—is fast disappearing from the world. Thus one specialist expresses himself: "In Africa, as well as in Asia and America, native races are in danger of losing their primitive characteristics, if not of total or partial extermination, and there the anthropologist and naturalist must take the earliest possible opportunities for their researches."¹ It is difficult to do justice to the simplicity of such a complaint, as if Darwin, Tylor, Lubbock, the most eminent of observers, had not exhausted this field during the past forty years! Oh, no! We must photograph the semi-brute savage, we must phonograph him, but above all first catch him, before he disappears from the world!

Since competent authority induces belief, and, according to Mr. Romanes, belief is scientific conviction, let us listen for a moment to the most distinguished of authorities, speaking at the last Anthropological Congress in Vienna. Professor Virchow spoke thus on the occasion:

"Since the Darwinian theory of the origin of man made its first victorious mark, twenty years ago, we have sought for the intermediate stages which were supposed to connect man with the ape. The proto-man, the pro-anthropos, is not yet discovered. For anthropological science the pro-anthropos is even a subject of discussion. At that time, in Innsbruck, the prospect apparently was that the course of descent, from an ape to man, would be reconstructed all at once; now, we cannot even prove the descent of the separate races from one another. At this moment we are able to say that, among the peoples of antiquity, no single one was any nearer to the apes than we are. At this moment, I can affirm that there is not upon earth any absolutely unknown race of men. The least known of all are the people of the central mountainous district of the Malay peninsula; but, otherwise, we know the people of Tierra del Fuego quite as well as the Esquimaux, Bashkirs, Polynesians, and Lapps. Nay, we know more of these races than we do of certain European tribes—I need only mention the Albanians. Every living race is still human; no single one has yet been found that we can designate as simian or quasi-simian. Even when, in certain ones, phenomena appear which are characteristic of apes, *e.g.*, the peculiar ape-like projection of the skull in certain races, still we cannot say that these men are ape-like."

The savage being thus found an unconscionable truant, the innocent baby has been impounded. He is the nearest human being to

¹ *Scientific American Supplement*, August 13, 1892, p. 13,857; from Mr. John Evans, F.R.S.

what the savage ought to be, and to what the brute is. Mr. Romanes' latest work, on "The Mental Evolution in Man, or the Origin of Human Faculty," turns mainly upon this point. Dr. St. George Mivart has answered him in his "Origin of Human Reason," and in his other work, "On Truth."

The Darwinian, then, endeavors to show that there is a perfectly continuous line of development from brute intelligence to infant intelligence, and thence to the adult human intellect. By way of a frontispiece he adorns his book with a diagram, in which human life is seen parallel with lower organic life. There we may see the individual existence checked off into various stages of progress, or, into what is called "ontogeny," and "ontogenetic development." It begins at a stage corresponding to mere protoplasm, with movements only protoplasmic. Thence, an advance is made to non-nervous, and then to partially nervous adjustments, corresponding to the stages of divers unicellular organisms, and those other creatures which owe their genesis to Professor Hæckel's intuition, viz., "unknown animals." This valuable, and we might say, indispensable element, is soberly put down by Mr. Romanes in his diagram thus: "Unknown animals, probably cœlenterata, perhaps extinct." Such words would be remarkable if they were less familiar; but they can be a stumbling-block only to the feeble common mind. If the common vulgar mind cannot comprehend such terms as "unknown," "probably," "perhaps," in a solemn chart which sums up, not only dogmatically but diagrammatically, the creed of all we are to believe as the very best that has been found out, then such a feeble mind is "scientifically incapable," for want of two essential qualities in a successful evolutionist—one, that of grasping facts which are "unknown"; the other, that of gauging with accuracy their precise degree of certainty—"probably," "perhaps."

The diagram continues: The infant's life advances through no less than twenty-eight stages, before emerging into human life at the advanced age of fifteen months. During its "ontogenetic" progress it has passed successively through the somewhat slimy companionship of echinoderms, mollusks, birds, elephants, apes, dogs. And it is only by graduating through all these organic and intellectual steps of equivalence that it becomes organically and intellectually of the human kind. Now, it is argued that there has been no break anywhere in this march of equivalence, or, let us say, analogical resemblance, to various orders of the brute creation. There has been no gap whereby, at any given stage, it was separated from the next. The infant just merged into the next, or emerged. And all this was in correspondence with species in the lower creation, each individual step, or stage of "ontogeny,"

corresponding with some specific step in the general world, or, as Professor Hæckel has it, some stage of "phylogeny." Neither, when it enters on the human sphere, properly so-called, does it do so by any leap over a chasm to become a distinctively human being. Therefore the conclusion.

There is a two-fold conclusion. One was settled long ago by Professor Hæckel, when he formulated the law of "biogenesis"—that species have evolved from one another ("phylogeny"), as we see any particular organism evolving in its own individual life ("ontogeny"). The reason is, because each individual's life is an epitome of all the successive specific changes that its ancestors went through to reach the level on which it now finds itself. We pray the reader not to ask for any more reasons at present. We will excuse ourselves by alleging that it is a first principle in science, like the law of gravitation; and, of course, it is assumed by Mr. Romanes, who is busy with the other conclusion; and to that we proceed.

The other conclusion, then, is, that the infant passes from "the zero-level of mental life" to the fullness of human intelligence, and, therefore, in the infant we have "the passage from one order of psychical being into another," "without any sudden leap of progress." In short, the baby is representative of an intermediate phase of intelligence between brute and man. He ranks with the savage. It is on this thesis that Mr. Romanes, the devoted disciple of Mr. Darwin, expends a work of 439 pages.

Let us, by all means, fix our attention on the savage and the baby as representatives of "the intermediate phases of intelligence," between the brute and human creations. Our prejudices should not make us reluctant to look with a calm eye on whatever conclusions an irrefragable science enjoins. Such prejudices could be based only on certain prevalent opinions, like that laid down by Dr. Kidd,¹ who says that, if any state "could be pre-eminently called man's natural state, it would be that of civilization," and this for many reasons. And there is another opinion widely prevalent, that every organism, no matter of what kind, is to be judged of by its normal and developed condition, not by its state of incipency, which has no meaning, except with reference to the end towards which it is tending. It is from such opinions as these, no doubt, that the prejudiced habit of thinking is formed, which declines to look upon the infant as typical of anything, and as intelligible only in the light of his future adult manhood; and declines to regard the savage as anything else but adult man, who has degenerated from civilization, and happens to lack the opportunities

¹ *Bridgewater Treatise*, Introduction, § 1.

of returning to that state. Hence have arisen the objections to accepting of the infant and the savage as "intermediate phases of intelligence" between themselves, truly and essentially men, and the brutes which neither degenerated from manhood nor will ever develop into it.

But, with a stroke of his pen, Mr. Romanes cancels these objections. He says that, if you insist on contrasting adult civilized man with the brute you can never prove evolution; the difference is enormous—possibly he means, it is a difference of *kind*; but, if you take the savage and the baby, the difference will not appear so enormous—you may pass it off as one of *degree*. Therefore, he takes them as intermediate phases. Let us quote his words, which are partly dogmatic and partly pathetic:

"Of course, when they (my opponents) thus ignore both the child and the savage, so as directly to contrast the adult psychology of civilized man with that of the lower animals, it is easy to show an enormous difference. But where the question is as to whether this is a difference of degree or of kind, the absurdity of disregarding the intermediate phases which present themselves to actual observation is surely too obvious for comment."¹

These are almost the last words of his book. The sense of them agrees perfectly with the postulate he made at the beginning of the book. That is too precious not to quote:

"It is unquestionable that human psychology, in the case of every individual human being, presents to actual observation a process of gradual development, or evolution, extending from infancy to manhood; and that in this process, which begins at a zero level of mental life and may culminate in genius, there is nowhere and never observable a sudden leap of progress, such as the passage from one order of psychical being to another might reasonably be expected to show. Therefore, it is a matter of observable fact that, whether or not human intelligence differs from animal in kind, it certainly does admit of gradual development from a zero level. This I posit as a second consideration."²

Here then, on the threshold, he requires us to admit as a postulate what is the thesis of his whole book; that the "zero level of mental life" in the infant *may be* the same in kind as mere brute intelligence; and, since there is a gradual progress from that "zero level" in the infant up to adult genius, therefore mental evolution in man has been gradual from the level of the brute. Upon this postulate and three others similar in kind and in degree, both as to matter and as to logic, he "proceeds to consider, as carefully

¹ *Mental Evolution of Man*, p. 438.

² *Ibid.*, p. 4.

and as impartially as he can, the arguments" to be adduced in behalf of his thesis.

It is quite superfluous labor, as he seems to imply. For these postulates create "so immense a presumption on *a priori* grounds," that, like other wise evolutionists, he could have postulated the whole at once, and have confined himself to merely illustrating his assumption—an occupation which would have been less ambitious and more entertaining.

Now, what has all this to do with "vestiges?" Why, on this theory, the infant is a bundle of vestiges, not only in his footprint, which Dr. Robinson will now illustrate, but in all his frame and intellectual development. The word "vestige" means a footprint of some one who has gone that way before. Here it signifies a residual trace, in the human frame and intelligence, of some stage they have passed through to become what they are. For instance, those successive stages of "protoplasmic movements," of "nervous adjustments," of "primary instincts" and the like, which Mr. Romanes tabulates in his diagram as representing an infant's psychical development, are vestiges in him of his ancestors,—what time they were only unicellular organisms, and then, later on, were "unknown animals, probably Coelenterata," and then insects, and then birds, and finally were of the dog or ape kind. The animals which go by these names now are all, indeed, too far differentiated to represent exactly what the infant's ancestors were exactly. But, differentiated though they be, they stay on the given levels; and, highly evolved as human kind now is, its "vestiges" show that once it was at home down on those same levels.

II.

A Dr. Louis Robinson has contributed, as we noted before, some original researches to the "Nineteenth Century." He shows us views of a baby's footprint, and adds some views of his own intelligence. With the help of the latter he makes the former quite interesting. He finds that the soft and tender cartilages, and the very pliable joints of an infant's foot make it much more supple and limber than the foot of an adult. Hence in the footprint, which with considerable art he has stolen from the demonstrative little innocent, by the instrumentality of some unholy mixture of soap, lamp-black, syrup, and blue-black ink, he discovers certain creases, which he characterizes as remarkably similar to those of the hand. We already begin to apprehend the very recondite character of these researches. For, of course, it could never have occurred to any one before that the five toes of a foot were analogous, some way or other, to the five fingers of a hand, that the great toe and the thumb might possibly suggest a metaphorical resem-

blance, and that the sole and other parts of the foot were somehow homologous to the palm, etc., of the hand. If these analogies in nature had occurred to any one before, they would have stimulated only poetic imaginings. It takes a specialist of this kind to extract scientific conclusions.

He concludes that the foot is a hand. He sees the footprint, not of a foot, but of a hand which has become a foot. He reads there the "vestige" of the grasping power which that organ had when it was a hand. The creases prove it.

He lays stress on certain muscles there, called the *lumbricales*. He can find no use for them, unless they are the result of a long-continued practice of clutching twigs, when the baby's ancestors climbed trees and ran along branches. The same muscles appear in the hands. There too he fails to divine any explanation for their presence, unless it be admitted that they were the outcome of the same ancestral habits—vestiges of monkey movements. In point of fact, these muscles are very fully developed in some of the anthropoid apes, and especially in the most bulky of them, the gorilla. Could any demonstration be more satisfactory!

The grasping power of the foot is not conspicuous in adult civilized man; the organ is not remarkably prehensile. This is easily explained. Civilized man has taken to wearing stiff shoes. Just as nature has provided purely terrestrial animals, those called "ungulates," with hoofs, man has gone about "protecting his feet with a stout covering like a hoof." Here the investigator becomes irresistibly witty. In presence of this exhibition of self-mutilation on the part of man, in getting an ungulate's hoof instead of keeping his simian claw, he suggests that "we might with some justice style him an *amateur ungulate*"—that is, a hoofed animal by predilection.

Having been facetious, the scientist grows severely scientific. If you do not accept his explanation of the origin and use of this elaborate muscular system—the *lumbricales*—in the human hand and foot, you commit yourself to a great absurdity. What may that be? It appears that the *lumbricales* in the human hand have been called by the older anatomists *fidicinales* ("fiddle-muscles"), because they enable the violin-player to bend his fingers with great rapidity upon the strings of his instrument. Now, not admitting his explanation, you are probably one of those people who assert the existence of such a thing as design in nature (foolish people!). What design could you find here, except, forsooth, that of enabling man to play the fiddle? But this is very absurd. Hence they have merely grown, because our ancestors merely climbed trees.¹

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1892, p. 801.

This is a good specimen of the merits of this school in the matter of logic. It cultivates successively the facetious, the scientific, and the ridiculous.

There is still another point on which this reviewer dwells. It is the grasping or prehensile power in the baby's hand. It is well known that the infant tries to clutch everything. Grasping, almost as much as feeding, is a predominant passion with him. Now the physician calls our attention to the strength of the infant's grip. He tells us that a baby less than an hour old can lift himself by his hands and remain suspended on a stick or a man's finger; and that several babies of three weeks' life kept suspended thus, supporting their whole weight by the grip of their hands, during more than two minutes and a half. He challenges his readers to perform that feat of "muscular strength that would tax the powers of many a healthy adult!" Behold then in the infant a distinct vestige of his ancestor's climbing habits. Such are some sober contributions of science to the "Nineteenth Century."

Having traced these stray lines of a vestigial picture, we may as well fill up the sketch at once before beginning to animadvert upon the performance. We will take a recent summing up of evolutionary proofs from the side of anatomy. A writer has just presented to the public a *résumé* of the demonstration that man, but a short while ago, was a quadruped, and has quite recently—he does not give the date—assumed the upright posture. The title of his article is: "Man's Upward Struggle; a *Résumé* of the Anatomical Proofs of Our Former Quadrupedal Character."¹

He tells us that, in the body of the adult, the vestiges which he finds "speak quite as plainly of the comparatively recent acquirement (by the human race) of this ability (to walk upright), as do the efforts in this direction which lead finally to that power (of walking upright) in the creeping child." The child first creeps, then walks. The race quite recently went on all-fours, and now walks.

He begins to prove his point by taking it for granted—he "recognizes" it! Then upon this supposition he proceeds to build up his exposition.

"In both man and the bee," he says, "we recognize (!) the late acquirement of self-reliance and the full powers of locomotion as indicative of a higher final status in the animal scale, and as pointing to the fact that these powers have for long been of less value and lower rank in preceding generations," which only went as quadrupeds. "Naturally, if this be the fact,"—observe this formula, which is always a solid basis for further development and

¹ By Dr. Aaron; *Scientific American Supplement*, August 13, 1892, p. 13,856.

demonstrations, and requires no proof itself,—“if this be the fact, we shall have no trouble in finding unmistakable indications of it within the human structure. And this we find upon a very cursory examination of the case.” Here the reader would do well to observe this other formula, “a cursory examination of the case.” It is employed with pedantic frequency. It generally indicates, as with Prof. Huxley, that the effort to prove is simply dispensed with. How unmistakable now are the indications of the vestiges which the most cursory examination reveals, showing that, if man was a quadruped once, he has become a biped since, and that recently, we desire to place on record.

We are told that, if a bear remain on all-fours, he can with difficulty be seriously wounded by the hunter; whereas, if he assume the erect position and get up on his hind legs, as man has done, he will leave exposed, but a short distance under the surface, a number of most vulnerable points of his vascular system—the heart, for instance. Therefore, “the human vascular system, like that of our four-footed distant relatives, is best adapted for quadrupedal motion.” This is the first proof of man’s having been a quadruped and having become a biped, and that recently. Here the author does not remark that the habit of rearing himself erect on his hind legs is very foolish in our cousin the bear, especially when the hunter is pointing a gun at him; and that it is in strict violation of certain principles regarding the struggle for existence; and that for any quadruped to survive such reckless folly would be in violation of the principle regarding the survival of the fittest; and that, if any quadrupedal man thought of becoming a biped in such premises, he must have been killed off and eliminated long ago.

The gentleman goes on with his “proofs.” There is a powerful system of ligaments required in the quadruped to bear the weight of the head projecting horizontally, and to relieve the spine of an undue strain. This muscular system is called *ligamentum nuchæ*, and the author describes it. Descriptions and anecdotes, be it noted, are a preponderating element in this kind of science, especially when they are irrelevant, except to the purpose of gaining credit for erudition and bewildering the eyes with technicalities. Now, he continues, the head being erect in human beings, and resting on the shoulders, needs no such powerful ligaments; and, in point of fact, they are found to be slender—sufficient, however, for the needs of the head. What does this prove? That man got erect recently. How so? Because this system of muscles “is no longer of much value in the erect position”; “unmistakable ruins of it” are found; and such as they are “they are much more atrophied in man than in the gorilla and his congeners.”

Again, the whole head and face of man is remarkably different from the same part in the apes. Man's head has an enormous brain capacity; the jaws do not protrude; the under jaw is particularly small; and the jaws and teeth, and the powerful muscles for using them, which are so characteristic of certain brutes as an effective apparatus for strife, are singularly deficient in man. Now, from the remarkable difference here between man and the lower animals, let us hear this demonstrator show that man got erect quite recently: "As the weight of the head with its enormous cranial capacity increased, the lower jaw has been forced under it and nearer the spine to aid in maintaining a better balance, and thus has resulted that decrease in the size of the under jaw which is the main characteristic of the civilized countenance," and, instead of teeth to bite our enemies with, our late civilization gets a big brain which will meet the needs of war in other ways. *Quod erat demonstrandum!*

Shall we go on? It will be useful, for the best in the literary market of evolution is no better than this. The only point of difference between one exponent and another is that one brings a better style, or a cleverer way of cloaking fallacies, than another. The fund of logic and of facts remains the same in kind everywhere. Well, there are the molar teeth for grinding. There are vestiges of muscles for moving and wagging the ears. A lady in Philadelphia to-day can still wag hers, and has semi-simian, pointed ears besides. "She is thus seen," he says, "to be a partial reversion to an earlier type, though intellectually she belongs to the advanced ranks of her sex."

The vestiges thus far noted are either beneficial or at least harmless. There are others which are quite inconvenient, in fact, detrimental, remaining as they do when man has permanently assumed the erect posture. Had he remained horizontal, the blood would flow more regularly and safely, and some inert valves would come into play; the pumping of the blood up through one vein, and its descent through another, would be accomplished with more facility. Therefore this investigator concludes that man got erect recently. Most people have thought so too—that he has got up within the last twenty hours; and that when he is tired he will lie down again. Few persons have thought that man must be a quadruped in order to assume a horizontal posture, or that, because the whole vital system is under the strain of work while at work, man is out of his natural posture when he stands up to his business.

This is wearisome. But we will cite one "proof" more. He says: "The differentiation existing between the hand of man and the higher apes is too well known to call for more than a passing mention." That is to say, he admits as briefly as he can that they

are altogether different. Forthwith he goes on to prove their original identity from their very differences: "The human hand is a rich field wherein to search for vestiges of the change that has taken place in an organ that, but a brief period back, was equally used with the feet for support, but which is now a purely prehensile appendage." That is all he has to say, and for once we agree. The human hand, being so entirely different from the ape's claw, is a rich field wherein to *search* for vestiges till doomsday, if one be so inclined; there is no voucher given that any one will *find* them. The pleasure afforded by the occupation depends upon one's tastes. And so this learned scientific evolutionist closes his "hasty presentation," as he calls his thesis, by noting with erudite fullness that because man's hands are hands, therefore his feet are feet. His way of putting it is this: "Their (the hands') greater adaptation to the work recently assigned them (of grasping), has led to a coincident abortion of this power in the human foot (which is not usually employed in grasping), a power that is possessed in no mean degree by the monkey tribe." That is just what we had thought ourselves; hands are hands, and feet are feet, and claws are claws. But we are still waiting at the end of the "hasty presentation," as he calls his *résumé* of "anatomical proofs," for the original demonstration taken in hand that, whereas it is absolutely impossible for man, as he is, to go as a quadruped on the ground or on the trees, either on all-fours or on four claws, or in any other way except as a walker, he became a walker, and that recently, and precisely because, with Dr. Aaron, he was lately four-footed—a prowling quadruped; while, with Dr. Robinson, he was lately four-handed—a quadrumanous climber.

The gentleman adds: "A recent article on the 'Decline and Fall of the Little Toe,'¹ will be found interesting reading in this connection." We may follow his suggestion, when we have discussed a little the decline and fall of common sense.

III.

We are not qualified to speak at all upon the subject. Mr. Romanes tells us so expressly: "The close anatomical resemblance that subsists between man and the higher apes—every bone, muscle, nerve, vessel, etc., in the enormously complex structure of the one coinciding, each to each, with the no less enormously complex structure of the other—speaks so voluminously in favor of uninterrupted continuity of descent, that, as before remarked, no one who is at all entitled to speak on the subject has ventured to dispute this continuity, so far as the corporeal structure is concerned."²

¹ *Boston Medical and Surgical Journal.*

² *Evolution in Man*, ch. i., p. 19, note.

Gagged as we are, then, we have only to let others speak; and we may slip in a word when not observed. While the "hasty presentation" given above, on a "very cursory observation," goes to prove that man's foot was once a hand, Professor Huxley's observation, as given in his book on "Man's Place in Nature," has gone the other way, and shown him that the ape's hind hand was once a foot. "The most cursory anatomical investigation," says he, proves that hind hand to be a foot.¹ Here we have the spectacle, not altogether rare, of two evolutionists diverging, nor denying themselves the right of a very natural selection. Evolution has generally several ways to go, and sometimes it chooses all at the same time. It can go upwards, and then it is genuine ascent, or "descent of species"; it can go downwards, and then it is called degeneration, or inverted evolution; it can be divergent, and also convergent; and Professor Lloyd Morgan tells us that there is also "revolution," particularly "during hard times." These may be mixed at option in various proportions. Without pausing to give instances, we see in the present issue, about the hand having been first a foot and the foot having been first a hand, an instance of divergent evolution in logic, with a convergence towards mutual contradiction.

The ape has no foot. Neither has it a hand. It has four claws, neither more nor less. Prehensile organs they are, and splendid ones. Robinson quotes some one who calls them "grapnels." The one feature in the ape's prehensile organ which does bring it into close relation with the human hand is, we are told, the so-called "thumb"; but this again is not a genuine thumb; it is analogous to a human finger. The human thumb is without a parallel in nature. By it is secured, as Professor Huxley tells us, "the possibility of carrying into effect the conceptions of our mind."

The claw of the monkey is an organ of suspension rather than of touch; and it is not one of measure. Man's hand, on the contrary, is an organ of touch and measurement; it is, as Blainville observed, "a sensitive compass with five points." Hence, when a monkey tests anything, he does so by scratching it with his nail, not feeling it, as man does, with the tip of a finger. There are some indications in all this of a use, which to the plain mind reveals a plain purpose.

As to those ligaments, which Dr. Robinson noted had been called *fidicinales*, we are not quite reduced to the sole alternatives of the forlorn dilemma in which he ingeniously left us. He had argued that we must consider the playing of a fiddle to be the

¹ Ch. ii, p. 109.

foreordained purpose of this anatomical structure, or we must take his explanation, which seems to us slightly worse. For better, in all conscience, any purpose, than none at all; better believe that organic structures had some purpose however obscure, than that they *grew*—that not having any existence they *used themselves* into existence, and grew! His dilemma rests on the very solid foundation, that the older anatomists “called then *fidicinales*”—fiddle-muscles. Even Professor Huxley is a little broader in his views, when he speaks of adaptations “to carry into effect the conceptions of our mind.” If the modern physician has lost the cunning of his own art, as his last self-adaptation to the environment of the nineteenth century, a classical representative of his profession, one whom he honors by naming him, will inform us. “In the palm of the hand,” says Sir Charles Bell, “and between the metacarpal bones, there are small muscles, *lumbricales* and *inter-ossei*, which perform the finer motions, expanding the fingers and moving them in every direction, with great quickness and delicacy. These are the organs which give the hand the power of spinning, weaving, engraving; and, as they produce the quick motions of the musician’s fingers, they are called by the anatomist *fidicinales*. Attention to our most common actions will show us, how the division into fingers, by combining motion with the sense of touch, adapts the hand to grasp, to feel and to compare.” Quoting from Ray, Sir Charles continues: “Some animals have horns, some have hoofs, some teeth, some talons, some claws, some spurs and beaks; man hath none of these, but is weak and feeble, and sent unarmed into the world. Why, a hand, with reason to use it, supplies the use of all these.”¹

So, in the foot, who does not recognize, by the force of his own personal experience, that some elaborate system of muscles can alone have adapted man to the various attitudes, which are imposed upon him by the conditions of his industrial and social life, and are necessary for art as well as grace?

As to that brilliant specialistic observation that an infant wants to grasp everything, and that a baby three weeks old has such a grip as to hang suspended from a finger or a stick for nearly three minutes, it is of a piece with other foolish things which the learned physician adds, about its taking a “curled-up position,” while so hanging, or while sleeping—a position which, he has sagaciously observed, the young oranges and chimpanzees affect when asleep. In fact, he feels warranted in criticizing any other posture for sleep. To rest on one’s back gives rise to strange dreams; Tylor

¹ “The Hand, Its Mechanism and Vital Endowments, as Evincing Design,” *Bridgewater Treatise*, ch. iii., p. 60.

and others believe that man's first ideas of a spirit world arose from dreams, when people lay on their backs; hence devils were conceived, and devil-worship entered into religion, whereof some gloomy tenets to-day retain a scent of fire and brimstone. Whence he leads us to infer that sleeping on the back, in defiance of those natural laws, so admirably laid down for us by the orang-outangs and the chimpanzees, has originated the dogmas of religion, which evidently he does not like, and perhaps finds some reason in himself to fear. His words are instructive. He says:

" . . . It would seem as if the period during which man first adopted the *dorsal decubitus* might have been an epoch-making time in his raw theology. Devils and devil-worship might easily have originated from a nightmare; and, since even dogmas have pedigrees and are subject to the laws of evolution, it is perhaps no very wild suggestion that some of the more sombre tenets of our gentle nineteenth century creeds may owe their embryonic beginnings to the sleeping attitude of some palæolithic divine, who had gorged himself in an unwise degree with wild boar flesh."¹

These words may well be the last of the article. They insinuate the strong creative idea of evolution, and deserve to be put in the conspicuous place.

Nor, as we have seen, is the science unworthy of the theology. For, not to dwell on the vigorous imagination required to apprehend so many phrases, to the effect that "it is possible," "it may be," "it might be," "it could, should, or would have been," the double logical exploit is repeatedly performed of begging the whole question and of running round in a vicious circle. We have no objection to this; it is quite in keeping with the subject matter. We only give an instance or two. The physician says: "Arboreal habits, either past or present, are to be predicated with absolute certainty, *if there is any truth whatever* in the laws of evolutionary development." Hence they are predicated with absolute certainty, on the strength of the supposition so postulated. Then he turns round, at the end of the same article, and predicates the postulate with absolute certainty, on the strength of the arboreal habits being supposed: "The cumulative weight of such facts as the presence in the human foot of the class of the *lumbricales*, . . . and the persistence in the foot during infancy of many hand-like characters . . . impress on us the truth that, whatever our predilections may be, it is no longer possible to treat man as an exception in Nature's great evolutionary scheme."²

But a word more on some of the facts adduced. An infant's lips and tongue are the first organs exercised; the next motion is

¹ *Nineteenth Century*, May, 1892, p. 842.

² May, 1892.

that of putting the hand to the mouth in order to suck it; and, no sooner are the fingers capable of grasping anything, than whatever they hold is carried to the mouth. The first office of the hand is to exercise the sensibility of the mouth.¹ If the child's grip is strong in supporting a weight, it is only proportionately so; that is to say, because the body which it supports is still very light. It will not be so after awhile. As Mr. Herbert Spencer tells us, the masses of similarly shaped bodies (for instance, that of the infant and that of the adult) vary as the cubes of the dimensions, whereas the strength respectively varies as the square of the dimensions. He says, suppose a creature, which a year ago was one foot high, has now become two feet high, while it is unchanged in proportion and structure, what are the concomitant changes that will have taken place? It is eight times as heavy; whereas the muscles and bones are severally but four times as strong as they were.² Hence when a man has grown to be five feet ten inches high he can well afford to be staid and sedate; and not only be reluctant to run about as he did when a boy, but also to hang suspended on a finger, as he might have done when an infant. Yet, says this wise scientist in a stupor of amazement: "A three-weeks-old baby can perform a feat of muscular strength that would tax the powers of many a healthy adult!" What he means is that a three-weeks-old baby can give an exhibition of bodily lightness which would tax the powers of every adult, whether healthy or not, to give. We agree. It would be very difficult for a ton to pose as a pound.

In the sense then of all science, the foot of man and the hind extremity of the anthropomorphic ape are two creations distinct and independent, each complete in its kind, and perfect in its accord with the invariable laws of mechanics and statics, whereby the ape is always a climber and man is always a walker. He is the only walker in the world, bearing in his erect brow the sign of the aspirations which his reason entertains within. Other animals have four hands, or rather claws; or they have no claws, but paws; or they have hoofs and the like. Man alone is so built that he cannot go except on two feet. He can creep along, as a child is said to go on all-fours. He might go on his knees and kneel—a function, the infrequency of which in the scientific life has, no doubt, caused it to slip from the scientific mind. But by no possibility can he go as a quadruped.

If to the materialistic mind it is a scandal that there should be so striking an analogy among the species of living beings, unless

¹ Bell, *ibid.*, ch. x.

² Spencer's *Principles of Biology*, vol. i., part ii., ch. i., p. 122.

we admit also a descent of one species from another, it is no stumbling block to the philosophic mind. All these "comparative" sciences that are waxing fat on the analogies of nature and catering to a materialistic sense, all this "comparative anatomy," "comparative physiology, or morphology, or psychology," only serve excellently the purposes of a rational philosophy; which lays it down, as the Duke of Argyle has well said, that "never in all the changes of time has there been any alteration, throughout the whole scale of organic life, in the fundamental principles of chemical and mechanical adjustment, on which the great animal functions of respiration, circulation and reproduction have been provided for. These are fundamental similarities of plan."¹ One plan! Reasonably. For a skilful designer not only has a plan, but he does not change a good one. And, if the designer is very wise, he conceives a plan very far-reaching indeed. So has the Author of universal Nature done; He has conceived and executed a universal plan.

IV.

While the Doctor, whose researches we have just been considering, beguiled the British Association with a delicate morsel of science on the feet and hands of babies, a votary of the same school has been entertaining the monkeys in the menageries of New York, Washington, Cincinnati and Chicago; and he regales us with a sensational account of the happy issue of his mission. He publishes a book entitled "The Speech of Monkeys."² He has acquired the Simian tongue. He has learned the forms of expression used by the monkeys in talking to one another, and, happy man! he has himself talked to them. After studying many varieties of monkeys, apes and baboons, the Capuchin, Rhesus, Cebus, Macaque, Java and Spider races, he has come to the conclusion that these varieties use different dialects, which by associating with one another they may acquire, but do not speak. He has said nothing about their acquisition of his own. We need not give any specimens of how these simian sounds look, when written in our vulgar alphabet. There is no assurance given us yet that the true monkey alphabet for formulating the words has been discovered. Manuscripts or palimpsests have still to be unearthed.

It may be mentioned, by the way, that the words of the apes are *inarticulate*. This gives the investigator a little room for the play of his imagination, which seems to have got highly developed in its way—perhaps itself the vestige "of some curious arboreal endowment." His logic does not seem to have been cultivated to the prejudice of those other special qualifications, which rendered him

¹ *Reign of Law*, ch. v., p. 269.

² By R. L. Garner; New York.

peculiarly fitted for his protracted investigations. Certainly, the fact of *words* being *inarticulate* has not stimulated it to any notable degree of irritability.

There is little to notice in his achievement, beyond its character of fitting into a much larger theory about thought and language, which, as Mr. Darwin duly informed us some while ago, is but a vestige of that aboriginal effort whereby wild beasts, once upon a time, aped the howls of other wild beasts and so grew into talking men. Accordingly, we shall sketch the whole theory as it stands to-day, far past the stage of evolution at which its distinguished progenitor, the founder of Darwinism, left it to the admiring eyes of his descendants; or to the allied species of evolutionists; since not all who glory in the name can be reckoned Darwin's legitimate offspring. For this theory has been sadly divergent during the past forty years. Indeed, if what has been going on in the breeding grounds of science, during only one generation, may be taken as in any sense a reliable index of the evolutionary march of nature, then it can never have required Sir Charles Lyell's millions of years to evolve all organic species from the primeval germ; since forty years have abundantly sufficed to evolve a network of systems, a whole horde of them, which are utterly irreconcilable with one another, except in their fundamental tenet of the bestial origin of man. That one tenet is a protoplasm which they have not yet disintegrated, and which, we may suppose, will continue to ferment into them, as long as they are anxious to be fermented out of it. We could not express better the idea which we are just now laboring to give utterance to, than by appropriating, with Professor Lloyd's kind permission, a felicitous sentence* in which he succeeds in delivering himself of a somewhat similar conception. He says, with a sense of relief to himself and his reader:

"Or perhaps we may say, in the language of analogy, that when the germinal psychoplasm of some dim form of organic memory is fertilized by the union therewith of the more active male element of discrimination, a process of segmentation of the psychoplasm sets in by which, in process of differentiation, the tissues and organs of the mind are eventually developed."¹

We feel assured that this must be just what we mean. For the Bristol professor is so far above the level of Mr. Romanes whom he is criticizing, that, as long as he keeps hand-in-hand with Dr. Mivart, we know that we understand him perfectly, and only regret that in his new and very admirable work he ever thought it necessary "to part company" with the Catholic professor, because, as he candidly admits,—because of the philosophy which Mr. Mivart means to convey.² But enough of this prelude.

¹ *Animal Life and Intelligence*, ch. ix., "Mental Processes in Animals," p. 339; 1892.

² *Animal Life and Intelligence*, pp. 326, and 362, notes.

Articulation is an essential factor of speech. It is conspicuous in the parrot, which repeats words that it hears. The parrot's brain is not exalted in the psychological scale; and the animal's form and anatomy are classed a long way off from those of man. This is embarrassing; for what is gained on one side, in the gift of talking, seems to be discounted for in the structural disconnection. Mr. Romanes, nevertheless, is not deterred from introducing the parrot's performances into his voluminous demonstration that brutes have the beginnings of language. He says of one with admiration: "The remarkable thing about this bird is that he does not merely talk like parrots in general, but so habitually *talks to the purpose*."¹ In other quarters it is reiterated that Polly says "Good morning," when that is just what it should say; "Give me a bit!" when that is the precise idea. And so the demonstration proceeds.

Our attention is not at all forcibly called to the fact that no parrot combines even the most familiar words in new orders of construction; or constructs them at all; it only repeats and often jumbles incompatible phrases. Thus, as it seems to have a weakness for rhyme, it can reconstruct a very excellent poem out of "Sing a song for sixpence" and "I love little pussy:"

"Four and twenty blackbirds,
When they die,
Go to that world above,
Baked in a pie!"²

We had almost expected at this point to see the rhyming propensity set forth as an "adumbration" of man's gift of poesy. We are thankful to find that poetry "in its sublime form," and in that other form commonly called Religion, is still withheld from the brute. There is no reason assigned for this reserve; but an evident reason is not hard to discover. Evolution must reserve something from the brutes; otherwise, proving too much, it will be too distinctly seen to prove nothing. However, like a true form of sublime poesy, its reasons are not always within reach of the common mind.

It is in dogs and elephants that linguistics reach their culminating point below the level of man—linguistics, not in the active sense of cultivating the art or science of speech, wherein the parrot stands supreme, but in the passive sense of being impressed by man's use of speech. Who has not seen a dog make an animated spring when saluted with a profane imprecation? The anecdotes about "Sally," one elephant, and "Siribeddi," another of the same intelligent spe-

¹ *Mental Evolution in Man*, ch. ix., p. 191.

² L. Morgan, *Animal Life and Intelligence*, ch. ix., p. 355.

cies, are decidedly interesting ; and, what is more, they make the bone and sinew of many a demonstration, containing their own conclusions, and rendering argumentation superfluous. The more intelligent elephants belonging to the government in India and Ceylon are said to understand more than eighty words and phrases addressed to them by their keepers. Besides, one dog has been taught to read. Of twelve cards put on the floor, whereof one is marked with the word "Food," another "Tea," while the remainder are inscribed with other words, this intelligent creature, without being pressed to bring any cards, has generally brought the "Food" card, when it was food he wanted, and the "Tea" card, when that was his predilection.¹

Prof. Morgan remarks here : "No doubt, if the words had been written in Greek or Hebrew, some people would have been interested, but not surprised, to learn that a dog can be taught to understand with perfect ease these languages!" Had the experimenter, Sir John Lubbock, selected other arbitrary symbols than the printed words we employ, "no one could have run away with the foolish notion that the dog *understands* the meaning of these words." We may add that words can be spoken, or written, for the convenience of these animals in a language not yet known since the beginning of the world ; but that does not embarrass the intelligent creatures. Mankind has long been accustomed to use different idioms in addressing these brute servants, sometimes a growl, an oath or a benediction ; sometimes the application of a stick or the sign of a finger ; again the pressure of the horseman's knees, or a twist of the bridle to the right or left ; and various other communications of thought, not quite so recondite or specious as written words on pieces of card or pasteboard. And this just shows the amount of understanding involved in the written card fallacy. In the dog experimented on, it is the same amount which would be put in requisition to fetch his master's stick or to fetch his hat blown away by the wind ; in the experimenter, it is the same amount that is required to construct any critical fallacy, which implies a false state of the question, and slips by the point to be proved.

The counting trick is of the same kind. There is a chimpanzee in the Zoological Gardens, London, which, they say, can count as far as five. When asked for two straws, for five, for one, it will manage to gather the right number. Therefore, it can count. However, until we are otherwise informed, we see no reason to doubt that, if the keeper had trained the animal by the use of algebraic symbols, or the terms of differential calculus, or the modu-

¹ L. Morgan, *Ibid.*, p. 346.

lated whistles of a horn, it would have responded quite as cleverly, and, adapting to the respective sounds or signs a certain bulk or portion of the visible objective straws before it, have carried on a definite series of muscular acts in the collecting of a definite series, and so have cast up its arithmetical sum in terms of differential calculus, or to the tune of a horn's whistle. But all this is not counting, any more than picking up certain cards, which happen to have words written upon them, is reading. Both counting and reading demand the perception of abstract relations, irrespective of the concrete objects or signs, visible to the eye. Men use visible or other signs or symbols, but only as external helps to the intuitive perception of relation—to thought; and it is only because the intuitive perception is going on within, that anything without can be a sign or a symbol. In the brute there are registrations of past experience, whether naturally acquired or obtained by training; and the external movements prompted by a repetition of the experience may appear to coincide with those which, in man, would result from his actually casting up a sum, or reading a card; but that, as far as it goes, would only prove that some man has been busy in manipulating this particular brute's experiences so that the responsive movements shall coincide, as in a puppet show, with the facts of human intelligent life. To a brute, nothing is a *sign*, nothing a *symbol*. Whatever object strikes its sense is clothed with the sensitive conditions in which it is perceived. It may be like or unlike other objects; it may be useful or hurtful; but the relations of utility or likeness do not come within the scope of sensitive knowledge, any more than the relations signified by arithmetical numbers or written words. The only bonds existing between concrete sensible objects in the life of mere sense are those existing among the sensations which they have originated, and which the sensitive memory has registered and retained. The training of animals consists in manipulating this process of organic registration, so that a certain set of phantasms shall be associated, and, when set going by an apt stimulus, shall run out into the corresponding muscular adjustments, and so run down—like a music box started on its harmonious run. Hence, we may dismiss the counting fallacy in the words of Mr. Romanes himself: "Of course, before the idea of number or of relation can arise at all, the faculty of conception (that is, of abstract thought) must have made great advances."¹ That settles the question even for him.

And that is saying much. For with him the whole process of intellectual life is really contained in the sensitive life of brutes, *with the addition of names given to the things perceived*. He adopts from M. Taine a statement which pretends to define our intellectual

¹ *Mental Evolution in Man*, ch. iv., The Logic of Concepts, p. 72.

process of abstract thought. In the statement he finds two meanings, and he approves both. One is, that the faculty of abstract thought consists in the power of combining several sensations—he calls them “ideas”—as when a dog recognizes a wolf, though he has never seen this particular wolf before, he must have laid up a general, indeterminate, “combined” perception of a wolf. The other meaning is that the faculty of abstract thought consists in being able to form this general perception, “*plus* the faculty of giving a name to the resulting compound;” that is, the faculty of speech, of being able to talk. This is the process of intellectual life with him; and, of course, on such crass materialism and gross philosophy, evolution may well be expected to rise up in solid proportions and stability, even unto conviction. We are only surprised that when the demonstration is completed in 437 pages, he should beg for only “belief,” in terms which we quoted at the beginning of this article. But it will be useful to quote his exact words, with their italics and capitals, keeping before our mind that by “ideas” he means sensitive perceptions:

“The real issue, then, is as to what we are to understand by this term abstraction or its equivalents. If we are to limit the term to the faculty of ‘taking in and retaining together several combinations of simple ideas’ (he means sensitive perceptions, sensations), *plus* the faculty of giving a name to the resulting compound, then undoubtedly animals differ from men in not presenting the faculty of abstraction; for this is no more than to say that animals have not the faculty of speech. But if the term in question be not thus limited—if it be taken to mean the first of the above-named processes, irrespective of the second—then, no less undoubtedly, animals resemble men in presenting the faculty of abstraction. In accordance with the former definition it necessarily follows that ‘we conceive the abstract characters of things *by means of abstract names which ARE our abstract ideas*’; and, therefore, that ‘the formation of our abstract ideas is nothing more than the formation of names.’ But, in accordance with the latter view, etc. . . . In my opinion, so much has to be said in favor of both of these views that I am not going to pronounce against either. What I have hitherto been endeavoring to do is to reveal clearly that the question, whether or not there is any difference between the brute and man in respect of abstraction, is nothing more than a question of terminology.”¹

So, at this age of the world, we have come back to pure nominalism. “For myself,” he says, “I am a nominalist, and agree with Mill, that to say we think in concepts is only another way of saying that we think in class-names.”²

THOMAS HUGHES, S.J.

¹ *Mental Evolution in Man*, ch. ii., “Ideas,” p. 32–3.

² P. 22.

THE IRISH CHRISTIAN BROTHERS.

THE Institute of the Irish Christian Brothers was founded in 1802, in the city of Waterford. One hundred and thirty years ago there was born in the village of Callan, in the County Kilkenny, a man whom Providence appears to have destined to effect for the boys of Ireland what Nano Nagle inaugurated for the girls. Edmund Ignatius Rice succeeded his uncle as a wealthy merchant in Waterford, but, moved by observing the neglected condition of the boys of the poorer classes, while contemplating the adoption of some form of religious life, he determined, in 1802, to establish a school for the gratuitous education of the poor. He was at first doomed to experience some delay in the execution of his laudable design. However, after being fully satisfied that the advancement of religion and morality was the great end in view, the learned bishop of the diocese, Dr. Hussey, not only signified his entire approval of the proposed plan, but moreover lent his warm co-operation, and at his death bequeathed a large sum to the institution of Mr. Rice. This gentleman now bent all the energies of his mind towards the accomplishment of his cherished object. A dwelling-house and two school-rooms were erected in Waterford, qualified masters were provided, and a kind of religious community, numbering six, was formed. Dr. Hussey was succeeded in the See of Waterford by the celebrated Dr. Power. To him Mr. Rice's young establishment was an object of peculiar solicitude, and his paternal attention was daily rewarded by seeing the good fruits of the new system of instruction, and after some time he succeeded in obtaining for this little band of religious men the Apostolic benediction. In the meantime the Society advanced slowly, with increasing hopes and brightening prospects. Seven years after the first opening of the schools in Waterford many branch houses, formed on the plan of the original establishment, were in good working order in several of the towns in the south of Ireland; in fact, the community began to assume proportions which its revered founder had not contemplated. Only the solemn approbation of the Pope was now required to give it solidity and greater extension, and so, in 1819, an humble memorial to this effect was presented to His Holiness from an assembly composed of many of its members. The petition prayed for the erection of a new distinct religious order. For certain reasons this was not granted at the time.

As is well known, a religious institute, known as the "Brothers

of the Christian Schools," had already existed in France for upwards of a century. The venerable De la Salle, the founder, a secular priest of great learning and piety, had, as early as the year 1684, resigned his ecclesiastical dignities, distributed a large portion of his patrimony in charities, and, with twelve pious associates, devoted himself entirely to the gratuitous instruction of poor children. He lived to see the advancement and spread of his community throughout France, and soon after his death, in the year 1725, Pope Benedict XIII. erected the society into a religious order.

In 1818 the Archbishop of Dublin solicited the approbation of the Holy See for Mr. Rice's Institute, and for an extension of the brief granted by Benedict XIII. to the Congregation of the Brothers of the Christian Schools in France. The claims of the petition itself, supported by the approbation of such an eminent prelate as Dr. Murray, could not fail to win the consent of a pontiff who, like Pius VII., had the spiritual interest of his ever-faithful Catholic flock in Ireland so much at heart, and accordingly, on the 5th of September, 1820, the Institute was formally approved and confirmed by a brief, under the title of "Religious Brothers." The "Christian Brothers," as they are universally called, form a society perfectly distinct from that of De la Salle's "Brothers of the Christian Schools," well known in France and in the United States of America—the end, however, of both being the same, and the rules by which they are governed differing very little from each other.

The end of the Institute is stated in the Rules and Constitutions to be: "That all the members labor, in the first place, for their own perfection; and, in the second, for that of their neighbor, by a serious application to the instruction of male children, especially the poor, in the principles of Christian religion and piety." The Brothers are bound by the three religious vows of obedience, chastity, and poverty, to which a fourth is added of firm perseverance in the Institute, and a fifth, peculiar to themselves, of the gratuitous instruction of the poor. The obligation of gratuitous instruction, religious and literary, is precisely stated in the Papal brief, and repeatedly enforced in the Constitutions as that for the fulfilment of which the Order of Christian Brothers exists:

"The Brothers should recollect that the instruction of poor children is the great object of their Institution, and for which, through the mercy of God, the Institute has been particularly raised up. They should always teach them gratis, and content themselves with the glorious recompense promised to all 'who instruct many unto justice.'"—RULES.

Thus we see that a Christian Brother, from the outset, devotes himself as a special guardian and instructor of the children of the poor.

We all know that God might have decided that no one should enter the Kingdom of Heaven who had not taken a personal part in the struggle of good and evil in the world. But He has willed the contrary. From the creation of the world a special source of salvation has been prepared for the souls of children. In the ages which preceded the death of Christ and the promulgation of the Gospel, the children were *saved in the faith of their fathers*, God willing to regard them as one with them. He has opened to children the gates of innocence and merit. He has said: "Suffer the little children to come unto me, and forbid them not; for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven." And looking upon them at another time, He said: "It is not the will of your Father who is in Heaven that *one* of these little ones should perish." What words in a mouth whence every word was truth and efficacy. Words addressed to all, but hearkened to by so few. These are the words, we take it, that call these good men from home and friends to form a compact body, united together by common laws under a common head, and animated by a common spirit, for the attainment of a simple end, and that end one of the best to which the loftiest desires can be sacrificed or the brightest genius directed.

Ninety years have now gone by since Brother Rice, with his little band of six Brothers, commenced their good work in Waterford. How the good work has increased more than one hundred fold can be realized by the perusal of a few figures taken from the latest published returns.

The Brothers have now three hundred schools attached to eighty of their houses in Ireland alone, distributed throughout the four provinces. The Brothers forming the teaching community attached to these schools number about six hundred, not including the novices and postulants in training at their headquarters near Dublin. The following is the latest classified return of the pupils attending these schools which we have seen. It is dated March 1, 1888, but it will serve our purpose in lieu of a later one not at hand:

Attendances.

On the rolls, ...	33,000
Daily average for last twelve months, ...	24,112
Present on this day, ...	24,849

Ages.

Seven and under, ...	2,672
Between seven and twelve, ...	13,188
Twelve and above, ...	8,989

These figures do not include the attendance on Sundays and Holy days for Catechetical instruction and Scripture history reading.

All these schools are visited annually by specially competent inspectors, known as Brothers Examiners. They draw up carefully prepared reports, which are laid before the Brother Superior General and the Brothers forming the Education Committee. A glance over these "reports" shows with what care and attention the examinations are carried on, and they can be placed on a footing with the more elaborate and verbose compilations known as the National School Inspectors' Reports.

Besides the regular "schools," it should be stated that six of the male "industrial schools" in Ireland are under the management of the Christian Brothers, viz., Artane (world-known) Kilmore, Tralee, Limerick, Galway and Letterfrack. At Cabra (County Dublin), the Brothers are in charge of the male deaf mutes, numbering about two hundred and fifty; and at Glasnevin (close to the historic cemetery), St. Vincent de Paul's Male Orphanage, in which are about one hundred and fifty orphans of the poorer classes; and a similar institution at Clontarf for the orphans of the middle classes, known as the O'Brien Institution.

With what pride must these good men, who consecrate their lives to the education and training of the poor deaf mutes and homeless orphans, view the grand results of their labors. A visit to these noble institutions at Cabra and Glasnevin shows every one that these poor afflicted children have the best of guardians and the kindest of instructors.

The space at my disposal is far too limited to give anything like an adequate idea of the usefulness and benefits of the Artane industrial schools to the poor waifs and strays rescued from the streets, lanes and alleys of the city. The Government Inspector, in one of his reports, said: "I know not that any schools under the Industrial Schools Act, in England or Ireland, has produced better results than the Artane schools have done since their establishment in July, 1870. I attribute much of its success to the able and judicious management of the staff."

A good primary education is given to all the boys in this splendid institution. The industrial training is very carefully attended to, and the work turned out is of a superior character. The great object of the Brothers in charge is to make the boys skilled workmen,—honest, sober and industrious. None but artisans who are skilled workmen and of good character are employed as teachers. In addition to a couple of hundred boys at trades, several hundred are engaged as farm hands, builders' laborers, etc.; also at hosiery, shirtmaking, tailoring, shoemaking, harness-work, etc. In short, it is a veritable bee-hive of nearly all the handicrafts.

It is noticeable that the Christian Brothers' schools in the diocese

of Dublin are very well attended considering that it is here the so-called "National" schools are strongest. In the Marlborough Street (Dublin) National (mixed) schools 1010 Catholic children were on the rolls in 1889. The average daily attendance in all the National (mixed) schools throughout Ireland in 1889 was 507,865. As we have shown above, the average in the Christian Brothers' schools is 33,000. The Brothers have 12 houses, with 52 day schools attached (not including the special "Institutions" already mentioned) in the diocese of Dublin, and upwards of 7000 pupils are in daily attendance. In Waterford diocese the Brothers are also very strong; they have 10 houses with 37 schools attached, and 3400 pupils on their daily rolls. (What a grand harvest of the still fructifying grain of mustard seed sown here ninety years ago!) In the city of Cork the Brothers have four establishments with 25 schools attached, and about 2350 pupils on the daily rolls. The Christian Brothers are established in Cork since 1811. Their monastery (Our Lady's Mount), is beautifully situated overlooking the "glorious waters of the river Lee." It was in this monastery the gifted Gerald Griffin died on the 12th of June, 1840, after being one year and nine months in the order. In addition to the day schools in this city the Brothers have a very fine college in which 250 advanced students are prepared for the Royal University and Intermediate Examinations; the Brothers are assisted in this college by a few university "grinders." Eighty years ago the only primary schools in Cork were a few poor "hedge" schools, and these only capable of accommodating one in fifty of the poor Catholic population. What a grand transformation now! How much Cork owes to the Christian Brothers! Silent, nameless benefactors, who have labored for their fellow-men; and when they rest in peace in the little cemetery in the monastery grounds, no more is known of their individuality than is suggested by the simple designation on the unornamented cross that is placed over their remains.

"The most perfect schools I have ever been in, in my life," said the late Dominican, Father Tom Burke, "were the Christian Brothers' schools in Richmond Street, Dublin, and their schools in Cork." And certainly their schools in Richmond Street, Dublin, are perfection itself. They can rank with the best of the high class schools in the city, Catholic or Protestant.

These fine schools are universally known as the "O'Connell Schools," from the fact that the foundation-stone was laid by that illustrious Irishman, Daniel O'Connell, in 1828, the year previous to his gaining that grand measure of Catholic emancipation which secured for him the godly title of "Liberator."

The Brothers' schools and oratory in North Richmond Street,

Dublin, form a fine pile. It was here, by the way, that Gerald Griffin, leaving fame and fortune outside, entered as a novice in 1838. There are seven large well appointed school rooms, capable of accommodating eight hundred boys. Besides an advanced class in which intending competitors for the Intermediate, Royal University or Civil Service Examinations are specially prepared, there is a very fine drawing and singing class, out of which many of the best draughtsmen and vocalists have gone forth.

The Catholics of Dublin feel an honest pride in having in their midst such a noble and valuable institution. Pupils of these schools, and for that matter all their schools—have risen by force of character to many of the leading professions, to many prominent positions in the public service, and in commercial life, not only in their own towns or cities, but in England, America, and the Colonies; and all, of whatever grade, are capable men, good citizens, faithful Catholics, and thorough Irishmen; and proud of being once pupils of the Christian Brothers.

The peculiar feature of these good Brothers is the fostering, paternal care with which the future of their pupils is provided for. If a boy displays ability for business, that ability is developed, and they obtain for him a fitting occupation when he leaves school. The poorer and the more friendless the boy is, the surer this provision will be: and many men who have attained to competence and respect among their fellows, are proud to own that from the Christian Brothers they received their start in life.

It has often been remarked that talent seems to be the birth-right of Irishmen; and those who sneer at so-called Irish ignorance, and those who feel ashamed of their Irish parentage, would do well to look around and they will see that Irishmen, and the sons of Irishmen are in the front rank in every walk in life the known world over, and it is no exaggeration to say that many of them received their rudimentary education in the schools of the Christian Brothers at home in Ireland.

At one time the Brothers' schools had some connection with the so-called "National" Education Board, but they severed all connection, notwithstanding its worldly advantages, as soon as they found that such a link interfered with the full performance of their duty as *religious* teachers. The words of one of the late superiors will briefly explain what to some still appears an unnecessary and uncalled for severance from a system of education which can boast of several advantages. He said: "By the rules of this Board, we (the Brothers) were not permitted to teach in a Catholic spirit. We did not feel ourselves at liberty to avail ourselves of the reading lessons to communicate religious knowledge *when a suitable opportunity* presented itself; and, *moreover, all refer-*

ence to religious subjects was to be excluded for a certain number of hours each day. Now, having given the system (National Board) the fullest trial, and taking into account the pecuniary advantages of our connection with the Board, with the religious restrictions which that connection imposed, we came to the conclusion that to continue the connection would be inconsistent with the original aim of our Society, viz., to give a sound Catholic education to our pupils."

Every Catholic knows that without religion education proves rather a curse than a blessing, because without it, there would be no knowledge of God, and without that knowledge there can be no salvation. Nowhere is true Catholic education more certain to be found, and nowhere is it more zealously and accurately imparted than in the schools of the Irish Christian Brothers. These are the schools which are banned by the regulations of the Commissioners of "*National*" (?) Education! And why? Because the Brothers refuse to take down the Crucifix that hangs on the wall in every one of their schools. These Commissioners will not allow any religious emblem to be exposed in any school under their control, and will not allow a cent of the one million pounds annually granted by Parliament for the education of the poor children of the country, to any school in which religious instruction monopolizes much time. No! the Brothers' schools are Christian schools, and they are neither afraid nor ashamed to proclaim and teach Catholicity, even though they would otherwise at once receive government grants and be put on a footing with their Protestant neighbors. The anomaly of this system is the more peculiar when we come to consider that such intolerance does not exist in Protestant England.

In the Christian Brothers' schools true religion is made the basis of education. Their pupils receive excellent instruction in every branch of Catholic doctrine; they are taught to begin and terminate their work by prayer, and as often as the clock strikes every boy turns towards the image of the Blessed Virgin, or St. Patrick, in reverent attitude, and recites a short prayer: this is what we daily see in any of the Christian schools. Turn into the "*Model*" or "*National*" school, here the teachers are of every creed; many of them have taken up the office of instructor as a last resource of poverty, or as a means of temporary employment, until an opportunity is presented of embarking in some more lucrative occupation. Such men have no love for their calling; they go through their duties as through a hated task; their minds are sordid and contracted, and they cannot feel the importance of the trust committed to them. Hence it is that out of the many poor children who attend these "*Model*" schools so few are much improved,

and so many are hardly improved at all. It only needs to open the books used in the model schools of the national system to prove my words; they are bereft of every sentiment which would inform the Irish Catholic either as to his faith or fatherland. Open the books of the Christian Brothers, and they exhale the odor of sanctity, and instill that knowledge of their brave and persecuted forefathers, which builds up in the young heart the patriot as well as the Catholic. In a word, sentiments of the purest Catholicity, of love of country and of justice, are the elements composing the education given by the Christian Brothers, the authorized agents of the Catholic Church in the matter of education, and from which they derive their mission. As I said before, the Brothers make *religious instruction* the *groundwork* of their system, and to our mind this is more necessary in our own day than it ever has been; in proportion to the world's growth, and man's so-called civilization is the need of faith. The tendency to make *this* life *everything* is the misfortune of our times.

It is noticeable the Brothers' schools in the west and northwest of Ireland are not as numerous, or as well attended as one would wish; however, there are many causes to account for this, and time—"whose glory it is to bring truth to light"—will, we hope, soon alter these sad conditions of affairs which keep the education of the youth of these parts so backward.

The election of the present Brother Superior General in 1880 marks an epoch in the history of the Irish Christian Brothers. Under his government a new and vigorous life appears to have been infused into the work of the Institute. Evidence of this is to be seen in their revised and improved school class-books, all of which show literary merit of a high order. As a proof of the excellence and high standard of these class-books, it may be mentioned that they are adopted in many colleges and elementary schools unconnected with the Institute.

Further evidence of the onward march of the Brothers as teachers is to be found in the success of pupils from their schools who entered for the yearly examinations known as the "Intermediate Education Examinations." Year after year their pupils have carried off in marvellously large numbers, the honors and distinctions awarded in open competition by the Board of Intermediate Education. The following figures will show how well they have competed in these examinations, compared with the pupils of all the leading secular colleges and schools in Ireland, who find it difficult work, not only to pass in the subjects prescribed—which by the way would be considered "hard" in many of the leading universities—but to keep pace with the Christian Brothers' boys in their rapid yearly successes. It must be borne in mind that

the pupils of the Christian schools who present themselves at these examinations form a very small minority of the total number—about one for every ten from all the other educational establishments which send in pupils.

In 1879 (the first year of these examinations), *one* pupil of the Christian schools won a "prize," and *three hundred and twenty-six* pupils of other schools and colleges gained "prizes;" in this year also, *ninety-six* pupils of the Christian schools, and one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four pupils of the other schools, gained "passes." From a published return I find that since this very uneven start the pupils of the Christian schools up to 1887 carried off 46 "Medals" for the 297 of their ten time stronger opponents; 248 "Money Prizes" for their 1441; 621 "Book Prizes" against their 3370; and 6621 "Passes" to their 18,220. These figures speak more eloquently than my pen can essay; particularly the summary of "passes" which represent the junior boys more than the others. In 1879 the Brothers' boys were beaten under this head (by all the other schools united) by a majority of over *eighteen to one*; and at the end of the first eight years the pupils of the Christian schools have reduced it to nearly two to one as shown above.

The connection with this "Intermediate" system has necessarily imposed additional labors on the Brothers and taking into account the constant strain necessary to insure continued success, the scanty remuneration of result fees can in no way compensate for such arduous work. In some of their schools the emoluments derived from this source are little more than sufficient to cover the expense incurred. But on the other hand, their larger schools bear evidence of the good use made of these teachers fees; here are to be seen every modern educational appliance necessary for the efficient teaching of science, etc. But if additional labor and scant remuneration constitute their share of the Intermediate Education Results, it is not so with their pupils. It has been for them—thanks to their teachers—a decided and substantial success. The value of all the prizes obtained by the pupils of the Brothers' schools up to last year, amount approximately to *sixty thousanda dollars*. But the educational advantages are still more valuable than the pecuniary. The pupils are stirred up to a spirit of self-exertion and self-reliance; and they give their teachers more willing co-operation than heretofore. In the hands of the Christian Brothers the "Intermediate" system will, I am sure, become an excellent aid to mental and moral culture; for a regular and systematic course of studies vigorously pursued for three, four or five years consecutively, based on and permeated with *sound religious principles*, cannot fail to produce grand results.

It is pleasing to record that the Christian Brothers do all in their power to foster and preserve the study of the Irish language, "the grand old mother tongue," the language in which St. Patrick preached the Gospel to our pagan ancestors; the language in which Ireland's martyred saints made profession of their faith in the dark days of persecution.

Evidence of their zeal to promote the study of Irish is to be found in the published "Reports" of the Society for the preservation of the Irish language, and the "Results" of the Intermediate Educational Examinations. The Christian Brothers were the first to take up the "subject" when introduced into the programmes of these examinations; and it is gratifying to record the steady increase in the number of pupils from these schools who yearly passed with honors in Celtic language and literature. Suffice to say, that at a recent examination out of 210 pupils who passed from all the schools, 156 were from the Christian Brothers' schools.

While the Christian Brothers at home in Ireland are achieving these grand results by their noble and disinterested labors, it is more than gratifying to be able to record, even though in a very brief manner, owing to the limited space at my disposal, the herculean service they are rendering to the cause of Catholic education in the different colonies which have the great good fortune to have them as teachers.

Fifty years ago exactly, three of the Brothers left the "old land" to found schools of their order in Australia at the earnest solicitations of the Bishops and priests who were beginning to fear the evil results of the godless system of education imparted by the State schools—a system similar in many respects to that of the National Board System in Ireland. No aid of any kind was given by the State towards the erection of purely Catholic Schools, nor towards their maintenance, no matter how efficient they might be. The multiplication of these State schools throughout the colony left the Catholics no alternative but to erect and maintain schools of their own in which the Faith of their children would be safe.

In nothing do the Catholics of Australia show more remarkably their attachment to the Faith, than in the sacrifices they make to provide for their children a sound Catholic education. Hence, their most ardent wish to procure the Irish Christian Brothers, whose name and fame as teachers in Catholic Ireland had reached their sunny shores.

In the Australian colonies the Irish Christian Brothers are fully maintaining the high reputation they have gained as a teaching order in Ireland. The Catholic community in these colonies—who form nearly one-fourth of the entire population, and are mostly

Irish.—may rightly be proud of this, for they share in the honor of it.

The Brothers have now fourteen establishments with forty schools attached, scattered throughout Melbourne, Sydney, Brisbane, Ballarat, Adelaide, and Dunedin, New Zealand. Their new college at Brisbane, opened in 1890, is a very fine structure costing over \$60,000.

The course of instruction in these schools is not confined to primary education alone. Many of them—notably the Victoria Parade Schools, Melbourne and their colleges in Adelaide and Brisbane—have entered into competition with the Universities and Government Grammar Schools. Here too, as in Ireland, the contest is an unequal one; still the Christian Brothers' schools are gaining ground year by year, thanks to the untiring zeal and devotedness of the good Brothers. To convey some idea of the success their pupils have achieved, I may mention that at a recent matriculation examination at Melbourne University, of the candidates who presented themselves from the Christian Brothers' schools, 87.5 per cent. passed in Greek, 90 per cent. in French, and 100 per cent. each in Algebra, Euclid, History, and Arithmetic; and in four out of six subjects their pupils achieved the highest successes. And if further proof were needed of the marked success of the pupils of the Christian Brothers' schools at these University Examinations, we need only quote the words of the learned Chancellor of the Melbourne University,—“that he had some experience in educational matters, and he could state that the lads from the Christian Brothers' schools in going up to the University were well prepared in their several subjects, and showed special signs of *being free from cram.*”

In the tropical climate of Calcutta, as well as in the more arctic region of Newfoundland, the Irish Christian Brothers have established themselves as teachers. Here, as well as wherever they are located, they have endeared themselves to all as Christian educators, who spare no efforts, stop at no labor, shrink from no sacrifice which is necessary to enable them to carry on with success a work in which the glory of God and the good of mankind are so largely involved. The Brothers have four establishments in Calcutta, although it is only two years since a few Brothers left Ireland for that distant mission. At Bow Bazar they have three fine schools with about 400 pupils attending, and also a large orphanage for 200 boys. The grain of mustard seed has certainly taken root in good soil here, and it needs no prophet to predict as good a harvest from it as is reaped in the “green isle” and under the “southern cross.”

Early in 1876 the Brothers opened a branch of their institute in

that bleak city, St. John's, Newfoundland. The condition of Catholic education in Newfoundland at that time was deplorable. Previous to the arrival of the Irish Christian Brothers in St. John's there was not (excepting St. Bonaventure's College) a single male Catholic school worthy of the name, although it contained a Catholic population of nearly twenty thousand.

The Brothers began their arduous work in an old wooden building on the summit of a steep hill, and on opening day, I learn, it was crowded to its utmost capacity by hundreds of intelligent boys. The privation and hardship the Brothers went through for nearly five years can hardly be realized by those who never lived in or passed the winter in this city amongst icebergs. This steep hill had to be climbed every morning before nine o'clock often in the teeth of a blinding snowstorm, and sheets of ice for a foothold. But thanks to the warm hearted Catholics of Newfoundland, all this is changed. The Brothers' new school, known as St. Patrick's Hall, is a magnificent pile, erected at a cost of over \$55,000. Here are four very spacious school rooms, with accommodation for over one hundred children in each. Early in 1889 the Brothers took over the charge of the fine college of St. Bonaventure, which till then had been in the hands of the local clergy who were unable to give it that unremitting attention which trained teachers, like the Brothers, could bestow. The Irish Christian Brothers have also been established in Gibraltar for many years. Here they have four houses with ten schools attached. Many of the Brothers here are excellent Spanish scholars, and have done splendid work as secular as well as religious educators.

The slight sketch which I have here attempted of the Irish Christian Brothers and their schools will, I hope, help to make the good work they daily accomplish in many lands better appreciated by Catholic parents, some of whom, instead of supporting these truly Christian schools, prefer to send their children to schools, which, if not wholly Godless, are sufficient to sow the seeds of indifferentism. To see an establishment of the Christian Brothers in every city and town should be the aim of every Christian citizen. Wherever they exist they become the dispensers of sound knowledge. No charity can be more judiciously exercised than that which tends to uphold these schools. Every Irishman ought to be proud of them, and every Catholic should cherish and revere them.

R. M. S.

A RETROSPECT.

PART III. AND CONCLUSION.

THE second part of our retrospect ended with a short account of the response made by English Catholics at the beginning of 1860 to that attack on the Pontifical dominions in 1859, which resulted in a loss of the greater part of the Papal States.

The present concluding part of our retrospect will refer to the period which has elapsed from 1860 to the enthronization of the third Archbishop of Westminster in the present year.

At the commencement of this period the influence of Cardinal Wiseman—who was becoming more and more of an invalid—was on the wane, and the condition of Catholicity in England and its influence on the non-Catholic world, from that time till quite recently in England, has mainly depended upon three men about whose names may be grouped all that is really important to note. These three are: Cardinal Newman, Dr. Ward and Cardinal Manning. With respect to them, however, beyond matters of public notoriety, we shall mainly confine ourselves to the relation of certain facts of personal knowledge or experience, for such facts, though apparently very insignificant, often turn out not to be devoid of value.

These three men differed very widely in temperament and, as we have found, in the effects they produced on those with whom they came in close contact.

They agreed in being objects of more or less esteem or affection or veneration, but their diversity was, to us, far more striking than their agreement.

Cardinal Manning, as Archdeacon of Chichester, was highly esteemed and exerted a wide influence which delayed the reception of many into the Catholic Church till he made his own submission in 1851. He was a typical High Church divine, saturated with the spirit of Anglicanism, save that he had affinities for Radicalism. Extremely energetic and self-reliant, he had a marvellous facility of expression, being able with a hardly perceptible pause to search for and seize upon the precise expression most suitable for his purpose. To the charm of his refined and intellectual physiognomy and ascetic frame, he added that of a thorough acquaintance with what was best in English life and with the tone of good society. That widely-experienced man of the world, the editor of the "Nineteenth Century," declared a short time ago, at the Reform

Club, that "Dr. Manning had become the greatest social success out."

A son of the Oxford of his own day, he had no knowledge of natural science, or sympathy with it. Once when the evidences of man's antiquity were presented to him strongly, he replied: "Ah! I have a short answer to all that, *Non credo*."

Ordained a priest (being a widower) very quickly after his conversion, he was at first a great friend of the Jesuits, who allowed him to have a confessional in their church. His knowledge of philosophy and theology were almost taken for granted, but he was never proficient in either, though theoretically a devout follower of St. Thomas. As a confessor he was certainly at least somewhat of a rigorist. In theology we believe he threw himself, in will and intention, into the Roman School, but his conversation in private showed that, Catholic doctrine apart, he retained his Anglican sympathies which augmented as the energy of life receded.

Eminently what the French call *autoritaire*, he was, while his sympathies in belief were unconsciously English, continental in his proclivities as regards will and action. What we recollect of his words impressed us with the notion that he cared little for the opinion of others, but greatly for his own predominance, being honestly convinced that such was for the good of religion. He was far from welcoming assistance of an independent nature, and only accepted aid of a quite subservient kind and whereof he had the entire direction.

Cardinal Newman, not less striking, though so very different in appearance from Cardinal Manning, had a physical charm altogether his own, one of the greatest a human being can possess—a marvellous sweetness of voice.

Though his influence over the minds of Englishmen was greatly checked by his conversion, he ultimately obtained far more than he ever possessed in earlier days, while he ever remained tenderly beloved by those who knew him intimately. He was a poet, and exceedingly fond of music. But a dry, caustic humor was his also. When invited by the Protestant controversionalist, well known as "Tribulation Cumming," to dispute with him before the public at Birmingham, he replied to the effect that he had small ability in controversy and could not venture to meet so redoubted an opponent in that field, but, he added, "My friends are kind enough to say that I have some skill on the violin, and if agreeable, I shall be happy to enter into a contest with you on that instrument."

On another occasion, dining out at a friend's, one of the guests, a noble lord who wished to draw him out with respect to the up-

shot of political contests in the Roman States, said: "Things are sadly disturbed just now in Italy, Dr. Newman." Staring into the distance in an apparently vacant manner, he replied: "Yes, and in China." No one present dared to say a word more on that subject.

If Dr. Manning had a marvellous power of speech, Dr. Newman, as all our readers doubtless know, was one of the most perfect writers of English who ever existed. His attachment to his friends was most hearty, and his feeling about their fidelity was most keen. In our eyes, if he seemed to possess a fault, it was an oversensitiveness about attachment felt for him and about the opinion of men concerning him, which seemed to us sometimes almost in sentiment to partake of what French divines censure under the term *respect humain*.

Although he had left Oxford long before physical science had taken the position there it now holds, he had sympathy with and a strong taste for natural history, so that, considering the nature of his education, he had a singularly "open mind" for scientific novelties. His "Grammar of Assent" proves how incompletely he had assimilated traditional Catholic metaphysics. Nevertheless in theology he appeared to us to retain no Anglican sympathies, but to have become distinctively Roman—as is indicated by the congregation he elected to join and introduce into England.

Nevertheless while in this respect thoroughly Italian, he remained entirely English in his inclinations towards freedom of action. He welcomed assistance in the great cause he had at heart, of a very independent kind, without seeking to regulate its details, and however he may have sometimes experienced mortification, his words and actions often indicated a singular humility.

Great was the contrast which existed in appearance, in face and figure, as well as in mental characteristics, between the two Cardinals and Dr. Ward.

If Dr. Manning represented will, and Dr. Newman intellect, Dr. Ward might well personify emotion.

Not that his will was not undeviating in whatever he thought his duty, or that his intellect was inferior in its acuteness to that of either of the others; but none the less, emotion appeared to us to be his dominating and most distinctive characteristic.

His was a very engaging personality. We were sincerely attached to him to the end, having known him as a boy, and shall ever cherish his memory. Kindness and quick intelligence beamed from his pleasant good-looking face, and no sign of asceticism was manifest in his portly figure. Indeed asceticism, much as he revered it, was impossible for him. Both physically and mentally he seems to have absolutely needed indulgence,

and he was devoted to the theatre and the opera. Once he said to me: "Don't you think if there was no God, the only thing to do would be to hear all the operas and then blow your brains out?" This is not, of course, to be taken too seriously. Naturally "intense," (to use a modern "argot,") he was always running into exaggeration in his expressions, often seeming to delight in paradox and employing all the resources of his brilliant intellect to support the extreme views he would often put forward—sometimes quite playfully. He enjoyed startling and slightly shocking his friends. When a lady, an intimate friend of ours, whom he had taken down to dinner, was expressing her happiness at having Mass in her private oratory, he exclaimed: "Oh, yes; delightful, of course, but you can't satisfy Sunday's obligation there." Then he replied to objections thus: "It is very nice for you to have Mass, but as to satisfying the obligation,¹ you might just as well sing a comic song." Nevertheless, he was in fact extremely reverent as well as scrupulously conscientious and pious.

He had no knowledge or any taste for natural science; nor, we found, could he tell a conifer from an ordinary deciduous tree. He had a fine voice and gave and received pleasure in singing operatic and other music. He delighted in intellectual society, and was himself the best of company; but "society," in the vulgar sense of the word, was abhorrent to him, and when (in the days of his wealth) there were balls and other grand doings of that kind at his house, he would retire for a time to a small cottage in the vicinity reserved for that purpose.

He was devoted to philosophy, partly for its own sake, but far more for the sake of religion, to the defence and support of which all his philosophical writings were dedicated. One of the most valuable of his contributions to mental science was, in our opinion, his irrefragable defence of the validity of memory, and his demonstration of the consequences which follow the acceptance of that validity. But he was not only a very keen critic of the philosophy of other "defenders of the faith," but sometimes seemed, in conversation, to show a certain latent mistrust of the soundness of some of his own contentions and a strong negative tendency of mind. A Catholic bishop once said to us: "Ward's philosophy consists of a bundle of doubts tied together by the fear of hell."

That he had a strong fear of death and a dread of what might follow it, we know, and we had a striking evidence of the negative tendency of his mind. When sitting with him one evening at his house, after a silence of some duration, he suddenly exclaimed as he vigorously poked the fire: "M., don't you sometimes feel you

¹ In this he was in fact mistaken.

must be an Atheist?" To this we replied that the Theistic argument was for us so absolutely unanswerable that we could not be an Atheist, however much we might wish to be one. This negative tendency of his was, we think, largely due to his emotional nature and his vivid feelings about the evils inherent in human life.

We were often struck by his edifying personal humility. He knew his mental gifts, as he knew that he had two legs and two eyes, and when it was needful, would speak of them with admirable simplicity and without a trace of vanity.

Such are the impressions which have been made on our mind by our experience of the three men who have most influenced Catholic thought and action in England since 1860.

Three years earlier, Dr. Manning had established at Bayswater, his congregation of Oblates of St. Charles, and he became Provost of the Chapter of Westminster while the Most Rev. Dr. Errington (whom we had known at Oscott) was the Coadjutor of Cardinal Wiseman with the right of succession.

The year 1859, which saw the attack on the political rights of the Holy See, also saw the commencement of that great assault which has been made on its spiritual dominion in the name of evolution. For then appeared Darwin's "*Origin of Species*" which later elicited a pastoral letter from the Cardinal in its condemnation.

In the March of the following year there appeared a criticism of Darwin by the able pen of the late Mr. Richard Simpson. It was a memorable paper; for its author at once laid down some of the principal arguments against natural selection, while clearly showing the harmlessness to Christianity, of all that could be proved to be even probable. This criticism appeared¹ in a periodical called "*The Rambler*," which contained many valuable contributions.

As we have said, Cardinal Wiseman was becoming more and more of an invalid; and we well recollect a long conference with him on Darwinism, at his country house in Essex.

Meantime the Provost, Dr. Manning, was becoming continually more prominent and influential, both at Rome and in England. Gradually the English laity (without being divided into two parties) were tending to split into two sets—one embodying the ethics of the Pontificate of Pius IX., while the others may be said to have anticipated that of Leo XIII.'s rule. The latter or moderate party was represented by the "*Rambler*," and was crushed by that represented by the "*Dublin Review*," which was the organ of Dr. Ward and the school of the extremists.

¹ For March, 1860, p. 361.

The "Rambler" came to an end in the year 1862. It was immediately succeeded by a very high-class periodical called the "Home and Foreign Review," but after a brilliant existence of only two years it succumbed to the same influences.¹

A last attempt was made by the same set of able writers whose chief had purchased the "North British Review." This not avowedly Catholic magazine began to appear in June, 1867, but to the regret of all cultivated minds was only carried on till the eve of the Vatican Council.

But a very important event for the Catholic Church in England took place in 1864. Most happily for us, Dr. Kingsley, an impulsive, somewhat thoughtless, highly popular Anglican divine, of the "broad school," attacked Dr. Newman, accusing him of dishonesty in controversy and an untruthful spirit. The illustrious convert having replied, Kingsley rejoined by publishing an abominable calumnious pamphlet entitled "What Then Does Dr. Newman Mean?" Then came our champion's opportunity, and nobly did he use it. He brought out in 1864 his ever memorable *Apologia Pro Vita Sua*. Its effect was marvellous.

Till that time a cloud of prejudice and misunderstanding had more or less clouded and obscured the future Cardinal from the clear and accurate mental vision of his compatriots. His noble work dissipated these clouds, and Dr. Newman at once attained an enormous popularity amongst non-Catholics, which he never again lost. They had long been really proud of him, though his position forbade them to show it. But now the injustice with which he had been treated, his complete self-justification, but, above all, his touching and manifestly candid narration of his past life, revealing as it did his real sympathy with his separated brethren, gained their hearts for good—a gain for him, a yet greater gain for his co-religionists, who have occupied a higher position in England ever since that memorable day. But as Dr. Newman thus rose into more favor than he had ever before enjoyed, another great ecclesiastic was rapidly approaching the term of his career.

On the 15th of February, 1865, Cardinal Wiseman died, and very solemn funeral rites, at which we had the melancholy satisfaction of assisting, took place at the church of Moorfields. We have been told and believe that a sermon for that occasion had been prepared by Dr. Newman, but it was the Provost of the

¹ Though unwilling to interrupt our distinguished contributor in his very interesting reminiscences of events, with many of which we cannot claim an intimate acquaintance, nevertheless we deem it our duty to draw our readers' attention to the fact that the "high-class periodical" in question was solemnly condemned by the hierarchy of England and its principles vigorously repudiated by Dr. Newman. See *Letters of Archbishop Ullathorne*, pp. 121 *et seq.*—EDITOR.

Chapter who occupied the pulpit, to the grave disappointment of many who had hoped to hear memorable words from the great leader of the Oxford School of former days.

Before the death of the Cardinal, a strong desire for higher education for Catholic youth led to certain very important action on a part of very influential members of the laity supported by others less distinguished.

Up to the time of the Cardinal's death English Catholics were free, as far as ecclesiastical authority was concerned, to send their sons to Oxford or Cambridge. At Oxford, however, there was, till 1854, a matriculation test which excluded Catholics, and though nothing of the kind existed at Cambridge the attitude of the authorities towards such Catholics as had presented themselves had from the influence of tradition, been uncongenial.

Obviously, however, if a distinct Catholic college had been established in either university, its students would not be exposed to such unpleasantness. The transformation which English society had undergone, both in the Church and beyond her pale, during the years since Catholic emancipation, had made the practise of university education an obvious and urgent necessity.

Meanwhile, the English bishops, though fully aware that Catholics were studying at Oxford and Cambridge, had not forbidden them so to do. In August, 1864, Dr. Ullathorne, Bishop of Birmingham, offered the mission at Oxford to Dr. Newman. The offer was accepted, and Dr. Newman spent over £8000 to buy ground for the purpose, when the design was suddenly traversed by a report of an application on the university question to the Propaganda, who took the question out of the hands of the episcopate.

A paper of questions was then circulated, and it became known that the foundation of a college at Oxford under Dr. Newman was viewed with strong disfavor by Dr. Manning, who possessed great influence with the Propaganda, and his name was used as a warrant for the belief (*Mirabile dictu*) that the laity were opposed to the continuance of the existing liberty.

Thereupon a memorial was addressed to the Propaganda, signed by one hundred and eighty-eight influential Catholic laymen, in favor of the existing liberty and of the policy which the English Episcopate had hitherto followed, and Mr. Frederick Wetherell went to Rome with a further explanatory statement.

He visited Cardinal Barnabo, Prefect of Propaganda, on March 10, 1865, and a report of his interview (which was printed for private circulation amongst the Memorialists) contains the following passages: "The Cardinal was very courteous, but objected that the memorial had not the signature of a single prince

or duke." And we were proceeding to explain that there were no princes in England except of the blood royal, and that the only Catholic duke was a minor, when he stopped us by saying that he was perfectly acquainted with the organization of English society into peers, baronets and gentlemen, the last being the lowest rank (*il grado piu basso*), and that the signers of the memorial were chiefly of that rank. We tried to explain the position of English gentlemen¹ without titles, but he did not appear to accept what we said, though he did not dispute it. So the attempt to found a Catholic college at Oxford ended to the profound disappointment and great mortification of Dr. Newman.

Among the most vigorous opponents of that project were Dr. Manning and Dr. Ward.

Now came the important question, who was to succeed Cardinal Wiseman on the archiepiscopal throne? Readers might suppose that it would be Archbishop Errington, who had been coadjutor with the right of succession. But sometime before his death the Cardinal succeeded in the extraordinary project of obtaining from Rome the deprivation of his coadjutor of this right, and thus a free course was opened for competition.

It is an open secret that the canons, who felt strong sympathy with the deprived archbishop, presented his name as *dignissimus* to the Holy See. It is said (and human nature makes it probable) that Pius IX. was thereby offended; but however that may be, Dr. Manning was appointed, and so became officially, what he had for sometime been practically, the ruling head of the Catholic Church in England.

The next important question, the agitation concerning which we witnessed, was that of Papal infallibility and the movements which preceded the opening of the Council of the Vatican during the earlier period of which we were resident at Rome. A controversy about it which had begun before the elevation of Archbishop Manning, became very quickly much intensified.

As we were one of those who never felt any difficulty about the dogma of infallibility but regarded its definition as the natural outcome and logical culmination of the evolution of the ages, we can the more fearlessly state our experience as to the antecedents of the decree concerning it.

Everybody knows that the Pope, as a private doctor, was in favor of

¹ It may be well to explain to American readers that as men raised to the peerage become known by their titles and not by their family names, there are very many Englishmen of ancient lineage who would never consent to obscure their family descent by a mushroom title, which would be for them, they feel no real elevation, but a descent. This fact recalls to mind the proud motto of the house of Rohan: "*Roi ne peut. Prince ne daigne. Rohan je suis.*"

its definition, and everybody in England, who was then of mature age, interested in the question and in the way of obtaining information, also knows that Archbishop Manning was its zealous advocate. That he advocated the most extreme views respecting it, his well-known letter on the subject exists to show. So great was the influence brought to bear in its favor, that the President of Old Hall College, the Rev. Dr. Rymer, had to resign his rectorship because he was unwilling to bring pressure to bear on the lads that they might be got to sign a petition in favor of the dogma. In 1886 Dr. Ward published his work entitled "The Authority of Doctrinal Decisions," wherein, as was naturally to be expected, he put forth the most extreme views, views which since the decree of the Vatican was passed, have been held by no one known to us. Therein he dealt with the case of Galileo, when he was replied to by one of the most acute intellects we have ever known—a priest who was a family connection of Archbishop Manning, and the only one whom we have known to make Professor Huxley "hum and ha," while unable to answer. Of him the Professor once observed to us, "your friend is indeed a brain sharpener." Our former tutor, Mr. Le Page Renouf, also took part in the fray, publishing a pamphlet (which made a commotion at the time of publication) on the case of Pope Honorius.

On our way to Rome we made at Paris the acquaintance of M. Le Play, of "*La Paix Sociale*,"—that remarkable philanthropist who, that he might really know the actual condition of the laboring classes, lodged for a few weeks at a time in the cottages of the poor in almost every country intervening between Tartary and Western Canada.

At that time the railway of the Riviera was incomplete between Monaco and Savona. At the former place we had to enter a diligence and seated ourselves in a coupé with two other gentlemen, who, like ourselves, had booked places therein for Nice. They talked Spanish with each other and imperfect French with us. We found them to be Peruvians—agreeable travelling companions, who appeared not unaverse to our society, so by agreement we lodged at the same hotel at Genoa. After the table d'ôte, what was to be done? We were recommended the opera, and stalls being procurable we together saw a tiresome opera called the "*Comte D'Ory*."

The next day we set out in different directions—the Peruvians going to Florence and we to Turin, whence we subsequently proceeded on Nov. 13th to Milan. There a visit to the Ciniselli, a popular theatre where the play of seven acts is performed in the local patois, was very painful to us. A party of robbers captured a layman and a priest. The layman was spared but the priest was

shot—not on the stage, which would have offended conventional notions, but the supposed fatal volley was heard after his removal for execution. The painful part of the performance was the delight which the audience showed at the execution of the ecclesiastic, who was represented as guilty of nothing except of being a priest.

Let no one who reads these lines and visits Milan afterwards, omit an excursion to the Certosa of Pavia. It is a dream of beauty executed at the dawn of the Renaissance and was, in our eyes, the most beautiful thing we saw in Italy. After halting at Bologna, Pisa and Florence, we continued on to Rome, where arriving at about half-past one in the morning of Nov. 26th, we put up at the Hotel d' Angleterre in the Bocca di Leone.

The next morning we happened accidentally to enter first the Church of St. Augustine. It was a striking sight. Friars saying Mass at almost every one of the many altars, many Pontifical Zouaves praying devoutly, and some serving Mass, while a number of women were kneeling in prayer before the well-known seated Madonna, patroness of expectant mothers.

Our next visit was to St. Peter's. The Chapter Mass was proceeding, with Gregorian Chants. The subsequent office was no better done than we had often heard it at French cathedrals in spite of their poverty and the fact that the Pope was still King at Rome. Then after a visit to Dr. Manning at 82 *Via del Tritone*, we went to the Gesù, where his former Vicar-General, then Father Whitley, S. J., showed us the room in which St. Ignatius died, where St. Francis Xavier and St. Francis of Sales said Mass, and other interesting objects.

On Nov. 28th we went to St. Peter's to hear High Mass at which the Pope was to assist pontifically with as many bishops as had yet arrived at Rome.

At 11 o'clock the doors of the new Council Chamber (formed in the right Transept), opened and the pontifical cortège issued forth. We were particularly struck with the venerable and dignified aspect of the Oriental Bishops. There were some picturesque little pages and a number of camerieri segreti in their scarlet. But the High Mass was less grand than we expected, there being but one deacon and a subdeacon, though a bishop celebrated.

In England, before the Reformation, there were always three deacons and three subdeacons at High Mass on every "double" in Lincoln Cathedral. We had heard much of Pius IX.'s voice, but we were unprepared for the combination of power and sweet melodiousness wherewith he gave the benediction.

On December 7th, we enjoyed the hospitality of the American artist, Mr. Terry and his wife, who occupied the first floor of the

Odescalchi Palace, opposite the Church of the Santi Apostoli, which the Pope was that day to visit. Our eight windows looked down on an immense crowd, a road through which was kept by soldiers, whom we could see a long street off. In due time he came, his advance being announced by enthusiastic shouts, Vivas and the waving of handkerchiefs. After an avant courier, came the noble guard and then the Pope in his carriage drawn by six black horses. As he neared, an adjacent band struck up, the soldiers dropped on one knee, as did a large part of the crowd. When he left and returned, it was getting dark, but as he went, his course through the crowd, which had remained as dense, was a real triumphal progress. As we watched his carriage pass away in the distant gloom, a curious wave of white travelled along on either side of it. This effect was produced by the multitude of handkerchiefs which saluted him as he passed. We were truly astonished at the warmth of this reception, the more so as we had witnessed but a few days before, the cold one accorded to Victor Emanuel by the crowd of Florence.

We have since beheld no such enthusiastic reception, save that given to the Princess of Wales on her first arrival in London.

The next day took place the opening of the Vatican Council, which we attended with three friends. At ten minutes to six we were outside the doors of St. Peter's, in full evening dress, with no umbrellas and in the rain. In twenty minutes, however, we were admitted into the vestibule and after another half hour into the church, where at once we quickly made our way to the side of the High Altar, opposite the doors of the Council Chamber. Then came a wait of three hours. Near ten the procession entered the church, descending from above the vestibule singing, at long intervals, the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, the Pope coming nearly last, seated on his *Sedia gestatoria*, between the peacock's feathers. At the further end of the Council Chamber was the Pope's throne, and opposite it a small altar at which the Cardinal Vicar said Mass as soon as all had taken their places. One most striking sight was that afforded by all the Bishops sitting with their mitres on during the Epistle, etc. The ceremony was very long: a sermon, the ceremony of "The Obedience," a Latin allocation by the Pope, the Litany of the Saints and the *Te Deum*. In the Litany it was sublime and touching to hear the Pope sing the three extra and special petitions, the vast concourse singing the *Te rogamus Audi Nos* in response.

Then the Pope retired and the bishops filed out at the Council doors, passing us closely, when we recognized various friends and acquaintances, amongst them to our surprise, our two fellow-travellers from Monaco to Genoa, and our companions at the Genoese opera. They turned out to be Peruvian bishops.

On the shortest day of the year we had the happiness of making the acquaintance of a very great man—Father Hecker. He was full of confidence as to the future of the Church of the United States, and we were greatly consoled to hear him give forth his opinion (which had long been ours) that Christianity was still in its infancy. He was naturally very angry with the man who then was still “Father Hyacinth,” and who, as the event has shown, was professing a bastard liberalism for his own ends. That *true* liberal, Father Hecker, said to us: “The new wine has got into a bad old bottle and instead of the cork being carefully drawn to give a sample of the precious vintage of enlightened and liberal views, it will be smashed on the rock of Peter and its precious contents spilled and wasted.”

But this retrospect mainly concerns England, and so we must reluctantly break off our Vatican reminiscences. Before doing so, however, we must say a few words about the Papal Zouaves, as that noble corps has an interest for Catholics of all nations. Amongst the evidence that forced itself upon us at Rome of the unpopularity—save with the very highest and lowest class—of the old order of things, was the hostility felt to these admirable volunteers. As far as we saw, they had no admission into Roman society, and we had even greater difficulty in entertaining at dinner in our hotel an officer of that body.

He was a charming young Irishman named Captain D’Arcy, then twenty-seven years of age and as estimable as he was good looking. He had been nine years a Papal Zouave and he entered as a private. A Spanish Prince was also a private and a French Duke was a sergeant. A true spirit of Christian equality and goodfellowship animated the body, and we saw plain evidence of this when we had the pleasure of dining at their mess.

From Captain D’Arcy we heard many interesting details about Mentana and events which preceded that encounter. Our informant had, naturally, the best information, and we wrote down his words at once, which we here transcribe.

He had no doubt about the bad faith of the French Emperor who meant to allow the Piedmontese to seize Rome, and intended his troops to arrive too late to do more than witness a “*fait accompli*.” This was the cause of the great delay at Marseilles, and of the embarking, disembarking and re-embarking of the troops, which, moreover, took four days to go thence to Civita Vecchia.

There they were disembarked as slowly as possible, and when in Rome and just about to start against the Garibaldians, an order came from the Emperor that no French soldier was to go outside Rome or do more than defend the city. Happily, the French

officer in command said "it is too late," and tore up the order. The soldiers with most of their officers were animated by a strong feeling of hostility to the brigands, while the Zouaves were furious on account of the infamous blowing up of their barracks. Their cry at this time was not as usual "Viva Pio Nono!" but "Seris-stori!" the name of their barrack which had been blown up.

That explosion was part of a plan to seize Rome. It had been well arranged and all the barracks of foreign troops were also undermined and the mines charged. They were all to be blown up together, for which the signal was to be the ringing of the tocsin from the Capitol, which was to be accomplished as below mentioned. Then the Garibaldians were to rush to the Vatican and compel the Pope to abdicate or kill him; Cardinals Antonelli, Barnabo, some others and certain Papal Princes were also to be put to death.

Some palaces, convents and churches were to be given up to plunder for two days; then the Piedmontese were to enter to "restore order," when the French would recognize the "fait accompli."

The key of the Capitol was to have been obtained by bribery, and the Garibaldians thought that in this they had succeeded, as to a certain extent they had. The guardian had promised to lend it to a man who offered five hundred francs for a short loan of it, and it was arranged he should come at five o'clock to receive it. The guardian, however, told his wife, and she insisted on his speaking to an officer about it. The officer told the man to do as he had promised to do, and then posted some Swiss guards inside the Capitol. The stranger came at the time appointed and having got the key went with two others to the Capitol, which they entered unsuspectingly and were immediately bayonnetted by the Swiss. Some one hundred and fifty Garibaldians, thinking all was secure, prepared to follow and then rushed to the Capitol, where they were met by a volley which killed sixteen while the rest were captured. Had the tocsin rung out, all the barracks would have been blown up. As it was, none would have been so, but that the villian appointed to blow up the Serisstori barrack, fancied that it was its distance alone which prevented his hearing the bell, and so fired the train. Fortunately only a part exploded, but that was enough to kill twenty-six poor Zouaves whose groans and cries were heard for four hours amidst the ruins. Had it not been, however, for this partial explosion it might not have been found out till too late that the other barracks were mined. The mining was done through the treachery of the native troops, who were never to be trusted.

The absence of any practical sympathy or zeal for the Pontifical

cause on the part of the country population was shown some time before during the gallant struggle of General Lamoricière against the Piedmontese troops. He never had one particle of help from the population he was in fact defending from crushing taxation, as the event has shown.

We did not remain in Rome far into the eventful year 1870, but long enough to feel certain of the proclamation of the dogma of Papal infallibility. The reception of it in England, so far as our personal experience went, took place with little difficulty, although there were not wanting some amongst the clergy who did not accept it *ex animo*, though they made no external manifestation, contenting themselves with a mental appeal (confidentially disclosed to intimate friends) to a re-assembling of the council at some uncertain future.

One very important manifestation of a different kind was, however, brought about by it. Gladstone, vexed and annoyed by the consistent and necessary opposition of some of his schemes on the part of the Irish Episcopate, published his intemperate attack on the Church, entitled "Vaticanism," and this attack he attempted to justify through the recently defined dogma. He then set going a recrudescence of anti-Catholic prejudice, which made some of us look back on the memorable outbreak of 1851.

Thereupon Dr. Newman once more stepped forward and addressed his fellow-countrymen in the well-known "Letter to the Duke of Norfolk," then published by him. Most Englishmen and most, we wish we could say all, Catholics felt esteem, pride and gratitude at his noble vindication therein of the rights of conscience and of the loyalty and patriotism of the Catholic body. His voice with its words of peace and wisdom disarmed prejudice, calmed passion and so stilled the storm; but it also carried to a still higher degree that national veneration for his personality which had been before called forth through the attack of Dr. Kingsley. We have to thank Dr. Newman for dispelling the last outbreak of anti-Catholic passion which has occurred in our time, and which now promises to be the last for all time.

About this period a devotion to our Lady of Lourdes began to spread widely amongst English Catholics, and many reports of miracles excited a widespread interest which we naturally shared, and which led us to pay a visit to that shrine in those earlier days of its celebrity. At this time, when fresh interest about it has been excited amongst the general public, a few notes of what we saw in 1874 may not be unwelcome to our readers.

We arrived at Lourdes in the beginning of April, and put up at the Hotel des Pyrénées; we then quickly made acquaintance with Dr. Dozous, the medical officer of the town, who told us he had

been a Voltairean till convinced of his errors by the remarkable cures he had witnessed and which were to him quite inexplicable from a medical point of view. He had been, he said, especially impressed by cures of infants, as in their case it was impossible to attribute any curative effects to the action of the imagination. He told us of a man who was a complete unbeliever, but who was cured at once of a creeping ulcer on the hand by holding it a short time in the miraculous water. He also took us to see Bernadette's sister, by whom various statements I had read were confirmed. Dr. Dozous said he was himself near Bernadette when the water first began to appear in the cave.

When at Toulouse, we visited Dr. Roques, No. 8 Rue d'Aussargues, to make inquiries as to the case of young Jules Lacassange of which we had read in M. Lasserre's work on Lourdes. He assured us that the case seemed to him inexplicable, but referred us to Dr. Noguès, Rue St. Anne, as the medical man who had attended the patient; he also referred us to him as a witness of a singular fact which had occurred in his own (the narrator's) family.

His daughter was, he said, like himself and his father, short-sighted. She was so short-sighted that she was unable to study the piano without spectacles. He and his wife were much disturbed at this as prejudicial to her future. Soon Madame Roques expressed an intention of taking the child to Lourdes, in the hope that thereby she might acquire a normal power of vision; they went, and in the Grotto, she became *at once* possessed of such ordinary power. Mother and daughter returned home at night, when, to the father's amazement, (he had been, he told us, an unbeliever) the child was able to read at a distance, previously quite impossible to her. "I was, however," said the father, "so astonished that I had little sleep that night, and early in the morning I called our daughter to our room, and then to my surprise and delight, she read for me inscriptions on distant buildings. She has remained the same ever since."

Thereupon we called on Dr. Noguès and received his confirmation of what we had been told. He informed us that he had attended Jules Lacassange and knew that he had been unable to swallow any solid food for more than a year. Jules's father who was, like Dr. Noguès himself, an unbeliever, assured him that his child was suddenly cured at Lourdes, and had been well ever since. The doctor also told us that he could offer no satisfactory explanation in either case, adding that, of course, he could never admit a miracle. Nevertheless, he was sure that Jules was not hysterical or of an excitable temperament, but was quiet, obedient and gentle.

Ever since the first abandonment of the idea of a Catholic col-

lege at Oxford, the question of the education of Catholic youth had been a very prominent one in England. The bishops were anxious to provide Catholic higher education, and the richer and more prominent laity strongly desired the advantages of university education for their sons.

By degrees, the project was formed of starting a Catholic establishment for higher education at Kensington, and we were urgently pressed to undertake the biological section of the teaching. Feeling strongly persuaded that the venture would not succeed, and knowing well that even should it be able to maintain itself, it could never offer to Catholic parents any of the advantages they desired for their sons—which were mainly social advantages, we did all we could to decline the post, but the Archbishop of Westminster, who became cardinal in March, 1875, made the most forcible claim to our obedience in the matter, and so a Catholic college—often absurdly called a Catholic “university”—by degrees took shape. A pastoral letter on the subject was put forth by the whole Catholic hierarchy, and subscriptions were earnestly sought. At the college, classical studies were under the care of our friend, the late Professor Paley, an M.A., of Cambridge, grandson of the Paley of Paley’s “Evidences.” Chemistry was taught by our friend, the late Professor Barff, also an M.A., of Cambridge; while physics were confided to him who is happily still our friend, Sir Phillip Magnus, a most justly esteemed member of the Jewish community. The rector of the college was Monsignor Capel.

A considerable number of the more prominent English Catholics of various classes were nominated by Cardinal Manning, to form what he called a “Senate.” Among them were the Duke of Norfolk, the Marquis of Ripon, Lord Howard of Glossop, with clergy, merchants, barristers, and medical men, amongst whom was the convert, Dr. West.

The Duke of Norfolk, Premier Duke, Hereditary Earl Marshal and Knight of the Garter, stood, and stands, most fitly at the head of the English laity: the son of an exceedingly estimable and admirable father, he adds to the piety of a zealous and devout Catholic, the natural virtues of a most exemplary citizen—virtues which have been manifested by him in every relation of life.

The Marquis of Ripon, also a Knight of the Garter, was not an hereditary Catholic, but a recent convert. He also differs from the duke in being a zealous advocate of the Liberal party, while the duke is a strong Conservative. The marquis had long taken a prominent part in political life, and has some special interest for Americans, since he was an arbiter in the Alabama question. He remains both a devout Catholic and a strong political liberal, and we can bear personal testimony to his sympathy with science and his zeal for all that tends to ennoble human nature.

Of the men who formed the senate, amongst whom was our unworthy self, some found that they were required merely to furnish ways and means; not to give advice, still less to exercise any control.

When a distinguished medical member rose to offer some observations and to make a few objections on certain points of detail, Cardinal Manning, without waiting for him to finish, stood up and shaking at him an upraised forefinger, said:

"Dr. West! in the Catholic Church there is no House of Commons."

The college was formed and started, and we were commissioned to organize a teaching zoological museum, the greater part of which still exists at St. Charles's College in London. We found the rector, Monsignor Capel, most sympathetic, considerate and kind, and we are persuaded that had his views been carried out at the college "Founded by the Hierarchy"¹ we would have had a certain success. Monsignor Capel's idea was to have the professional staff lecturing to students of various categories: some residing with him, some residing in establishments formed for that purpose by various religious orders, and some in certain authorized lodging houses. Thus, parents who preferred Jesuit or Benedictine discipline could place their sons under such, while others who wished their youths to begin a modified and guarded independence, could make use of the ecclesiastically licensed lodging houses. Unfortunately the proposed hostility to religious orders by Cardinal Manning (in spite of his early friendship with the Jesuits), rendered this course impossible. It is only since his death that it has become possible, even for Benedictines, to enter the Archdiocese. A footing for them or for the Jesuits at Kensington, was an impossibility. An objection was even raised to our receiving a friendly visit from a Jesuit acquaintance in our own private room at "University College."

It had been an arrangement on which we and Professor Barff had insisted as a *sine qua non*, that admittance to our lectures should be granted to non-Catholics known to us, who wished to attend. But when, in the second year of our professorship, we wished to carry this arrangement out, Monsignor Capel declared that to his regret he was not allowed to. We confess that we half suspected the assertion to be not quite justified, but later we knew too well that we had been unjust, for the archbishop told us that such had been his express order.

But Cardinal Manning did the Church a great service by the esteem and acceptance he gained amongst non-Catholics. He was,

¹ So officially designated in the Catholic Directory.

indeed, rather fond of their society and, amongst others, of that of the able editor of the "Nineteenth Century," who was also secretary to the Metaphysical Club to which at this time he had the honor to belong. One of its most valued members was Dr. Ward, who was for a considerable time its president; Cardinal Manning and Father Dalgairus also belonged to it. Amongst non-Catholics were Messrs. Gladstone, Huxley, Tyndall, Clifford, Fitzjames-Stephen, Tennyson, Grant Duff, Martineau, Leslie-Stephen, Hut-ton, Ruskin, the Archbishop of York (Dr. Thompson), the late Bishop of Peterborough (Dr. Magee), and the present Bishop of Gloucester.

Here on one occasion the Cardinal showed conspicuously that *savoir faire* for which he was famous. He and the Archbishop of York were the greatest people present, and the secretary was distressed as to which of the two should take precedence in going in to dinner. By courtesy, the Cardinal should have had it; but, by the law of the land, the Archbishop of York was far above everybody else. The secretary made known his discomfort to the Cardinal, who, as the doors of the dining-room were thrown open, advanced to the Archbishop of York and taking him by the left arm (thus placing him on his right) the two walked through the doors, side by side.

At every great philanthropic gathering at the Mansion House or elsewhere, Cardinal Manning had his place on the platform; and he was to be seen at the garden parties of the Prince of Wales at Marlborough House. At the time of his consecration, none but Catholics had spoken of an "Archbishop of Westminster," but before his death, no one hesitated so to call him.

One day, when sitting with him in his house in front of the portrait of Cardinal Wiseman, we pointed to it and said, "Your predecessor was Archbishop of Westminster *de jure* but you have made the archbishopric an archbishopric *de facto*." We spoke the truth, and pleased him.

Meantime the Catholic College at Kensington, first ceased to progress, and then began to decline. Dr. Ward, who had been and was so great an opponent of a college at Oxford, was not altogether satisfied with even our humble institution at Kensington—not at least with all of its professors. Nor, we regret to say, were one or two of the latter so loyal to their rector as they should have been.

But as we said, Dr. Ward was not contented with all the *personnel* of the college, and though we think he reciprocated our personal regard for him, he was not contented with us.

In the beginning of 1876, we published, under the title "Contemporary Evolution," a collected series of essays which had

appeared in what was then the "Contemporary Review," but which has since become the "Nineteenth Century." Therein we had attempted to show how political, scientific, and philosophic evolution must result in enormous advantage to the Church. We declared that one important effect of the great modern movement hostile to the Church, must be to let in on it, an, at first destructive, but afterwards renovating action of "Natural Selection." We said:¹ "During the period in which the Church had full temporal support and sheltered within its fold whole nations, with hardly an avowed dissident, the following merely natural effects must have inclined to mar its efficiency:

1. Want of the stimulus of opposition, tending to diminish the vigor of efforts for its support and extension.
2. A similarly diminished need for the diffusion of a keen, intelligent and reverent apprehension of its doctrines and teachings.
3. A lowered moral tone from the influence of an indifferent majority which were included within the Church.

Thus an unenergetic, tepid, unintelligently apprehensive and morally inconsistent spirit, may but too naturally tend to diffuse itself over a temporally-supported, honored, and wealthy Church without declared dissidents." On the other hand, "when perfect free play is allowed, the Church must come to be more and more composed of citizens whose intellects fully accept her doctrines and whose modes of life more or less fully harmonize with her precepts and counsels; moreover, such citizens will naturally have their emotions more and more strongly excited, and their volitions rendered more and more vigorous, by those very actions which the struggle for existence renders needful in support and extension of that system to which they adhere, and which the fact of their adhesion under varying circumstances tends more and more to elicit."

We represented a churchman as expressing his views, as we thought, with respect to the Church's past history and present prospects with great moderation and dispassionately.

This passage we will venture to quote, because we received a warmly written approbation of it from Cardinal Newman.

It was as follows: "The Church as a whole has never known retrogression or defeat since she stepped forth from the upper chamber in Jerusalem, conquering and to conquer. The Church's progress is to be estimated not by the number of souls who externally profess belief in her, but by the number who obey her laws in a sufficient degree to obtain their salvation.

"When the Church, in mounting the throne with Constantine, obtained what in the eyes of the world was a startling triumph,

¹ P. 109.

she made no doubt a true and proper step in advance, but one attended with many concomitant disadvantages and dangers. In condescending to allow her sacred monogram to adorn imperial standards, and in permitting kings to sanctify their diadems with the sign of the cross, gratitude was due from powers so favored to the Church which granted them, not subservience from the Mother and Queen, to the children she nourished and protected.

"The barbaric tribes, successively led under the Church's sway, were providential agents in bringing about that glorious dawn of church supremacy, the mediæval theocracy. But considerable defects attended that development. Vast numbers of the indifferent, the gross, the merely credulous and the worldly, were led within the Church's fold by circumstances, accepted its doctrines unhesitatingly, but unprofitably, since their works too often did not accompany faith, and belief without charity leads to superstition.

"The Christian mediæval system culminated in as near an approach to an universal theocracy as was then possible; but the world was manifestly quite unripe for a perfectly developed condition. It was still half undiscovered while a mass of latent paganism existed in Christendom.

"A great process of division of labor had to follow. Philosophy, politics, science, art, etc., had to become the exclusive occupation of different minds, instead of all remaining in the hands of the clergy, whose proper study is theology. Had Christians, especially those highly placed, been thoroughly imbued with the spirit of religion, no doubt the necessary transformations might have taken place peacefully and without religious disruption. But the essentially papal character of the Church was not fully recognized, nor was it then experimentally known how by separation from the centre of spiritual life, the supply of vital force is thereby necessarily cut off. The pagan principle of State supremacy, once effectually introduced, ran its logical and inevitable course fatally to the mediæval theocracy and the social system therewith connected. Providentially accompanying this movement, there has gone on a gradual perfecting of the Church's independent organism, and a greater and greater detachment of it from the State.

"The Church has willingly lent her aid to support the secular power, which in return has generally sought to bind her in golden chains or has ill-treated her, as now in Germany. This fortunate perfidy will enable the Church to escape popular enmity directed against a tyrannical State, while her organization will enable her to survive its downfall.

"The religious changes of the sixteenth century will ultimately turn out to have been really the Church's advantage. Before then,

the Church contained a mass of latent heresy and infidelity, while now the religious bodies external to the Church contain a mass of latent orthodoxy.

"This is especially the case amongst English-speaking Christians. The noble anti-Erastian passion of the sturdy Puritans, and their honest zeal against what they believed to be idolatry, were essentially most Catholic, as was also the heartfelt piety of the evangelical protest against the formalism which was so general when it arose. The marvellous growth of high church views has resulted in a forest of new spires, in schools, convents and pious institutions far and wide in England, eloquently proclaiming religious progress. In the Protestant masses of to-day is contained an immense body of latent Catholicism and the number of those who have really understood the Church and rejected her, is infinitesimally small.

"Of course destructive action, however good its results, cannot be approved; to apprehend it was the error of De Lamennais. A union of Church and State is the true ideal, and will one day spontaneously appear (when the world has been converted) through common consent.

"But Christianity is forbidden to propagate itself by the sword. The children of those who have thrown off her easy yoke cannot, *upon church principles*, be religiously coerced; for the Church condemns the use of force when a nation has either not received or has lost the faith. We read in the Breviary office of St. Augustine of Canterbury, these words, '*Ad cælum homines trahendos esse non cogendos.*'

"But the destroyers, in their own despite, performed a salutary function. A continuous action of six hundred years has not been permitted without good cause; and iniquities have been overruled for the manifestation of the Church's glory in a world full of civic freedom.

"The long process of Christian evolution having, in the Vatican council, culminated in the complete organization of Supreme authority, the liberty of the individual regains full play—the restraint of conscientious fears as to possible ill effects of his utterances being removed by the recognition of an infallible authority at hand to render well-meant but mistaken efforts harmless.

"Judging then of the future by the past, changes to come will but bring out more and more the Church's true nature by gathering in the latent Catholicity of separate bodies, and by sloughing off such unworthy members as have in the past been retained in it by sloth, ignorance, or interest. It will thus necessarily become more and more conspicuous for the holiness of its members as compared with such of the population as is avowedly pagan and

unbelieving. As the process of evolution has gone on from the inorganic world to the organic, from the vegetable to the animal, and from the simplest form of sentient life, through constantly increasing complexity, till the hour struck for the introduction of a rational animal into the world, so the evolution of humanity has proceeded, and is proceeding, from direct and simple conscious apprehensions to more and more reflex, self-conscious comprehensions. And this applies fully to the acceptance of the Catholic Church. As it has been, so it will be. Of time there is no stint. The next glacial epoch is sufficiently remote. By the continuance, then, of this evolutionary process there is to be plainly discerned in the distant future, a triumph of the Church compared with which that of Mediæval Christendom was but a transient adumbration. A triumph brought about by moral means alone—by the slow process of exhortation, example and individual conviction, after every error has been freely propagated, every denial freely made, and every rival system provided with a free field for its display. A triumph infinitely more glorious than any brought about by the sword, and fulfilling at last the old pre-Christian prophecies of the kingdom of God upon earth."

The work here quoted, at once met with a very hostile criticism by Dr. Ward in the July number of his "Dublin Review" for 1876, to which a reply of ours was published in the October number of the same "Review." Then Dr. Ward made a rejoinder in the January number for 1877, entitled "Professor Mivart on Liberty of Conscience." This rejoinder was an excellent example both of Dr. Ward's extreme views and his unfair (unintentionally, but grossly unfair) treatment of opponents. We are therein charged with sanctioning the unrestrained propaganda of free love and murder, and with a number of other offences of various degrees of enormity. We should not trouble our readers with this matter but for the fact that the letter we wrote by way of our rejoinder was not allowed to appear, the Cardinal Archbishop interfering to stop it. All that we were permitted to do being to publish a brief colorless disclaimer of such monstrosities, which appears at p. 557 of the same volume of the "Dublin Review." As therefore the Catholic public has never had an opportunity of perusing our reply (which has hitherto remained unpublished) we will for the sake of justice make known the following letter which we received from Cardinal Newman, and which (with others we have the happiness to possess) has never before been published. It is expressed as follows :

THE ORATORY, April 22, 1877.

MY DEAR PROFESSOR MIVART :

I have seen with great concern the way in which Dr. Ward has treated you. Controversy is his meat and drink, and he seems to consider it his mission to pick as

many holes in others as he can, and to destroy to the uttermost the adhesive qualities of Catholic brotherhood.

I have suffered from him quite as much as you. He has before now written to Rome against me—but I have never answered him, and doubt whether it is worth while for any one to do so. A Review goes on forever—and thus he is sure of having the last word.

At the same time, I can quite understand your feeling that you must put your protest on record against his perverse ingenuity.

Thank you for sending it to me. I shall preserve it in our library.

Very sincerely yours,

JOHN H. NEWMAN.

At that time a great many other English Catholics, both cleric and lay, suffered under a very trying tyranny, but the dawn of better days was at hand.

On February 20, 1878, His Holiness Leo XIII., was elected Pope, to the joy and satisfaction of the whole Church. In the very next year the sovereign pontiff created Dr. Newman a Cardinal. Deep and profound was the satisfaction of those who had long hoped and endeavored to obtain for the great man, of whom all English-speaking Catholics are proud, that well merited dignity. Opposition carried on in the dark had hitherto frustrated those hopes and endeavors, but the bright beams of the newly-risen *Lumen in Cielo* penetrated in all directions with the most beneficent results. The result as regards Cardinal Newman not only gave consolation to Catholics, but the whole English nation participated in their satisfaction and were proud and rejoiced at the honor thus conferred. Many of us were then disposed to sing our *Nunc dimittis*. And now, indeed, it is time to conclude our brief retrospect; for no disputable matters of more recent date can be fitly touched on here.

The new Cardinal was not only tenderly cherished by the devoted circle in which he dwelt, but even by those were not Catholics. When, not long ago, a certain critic proposed to publish something which might have given him some vexation, one who has control of that first-class Anglican paper, "The Guardian," immediately objected, saying, "Do nothing of the kind, you might kill him."

When the end at last came, the concord brought about amongst all creeds and classes in England was the most wonderful manifestation of the kind of which we have ever had any experience.

He survived for some years Dr. Ward, who was the first to disappear of the three most influential Catholics to whom we referred in the beginning of this paper. The third and last soon followed his brother Cardinal, and now the Church in England progresses under new auspices.

The advent of the last successor of St. Augustine of Canter-

bury, Dr. Vaughan, to the throne of Westminster, heralds a new epoch.

The long pontificate of Archbishop Manning, which had done such great things for the education of the poor, and had been fruitful in other good works, none the less gave some expression to the unconscious prejudices of a convert from Anglicanism of mature age.

Archbishop Vaughan, who is no convert but the son of an ancient and revered English stock, has no temptation to turn his back on his ancient Catholic predecessors. We look forward then with assured hope, to the resumption of the lines followed by Cardinal Wiseman while still in the plenitude of his vigor, modified of course by the experience and the circumstances of the last forty years.

A bright sign of this happy tendency was the magnificent public reception by the Archbishop of his Pall, which we had the happiness of witnessing. A revival of ancient rites which had not been witnessed in England since the days of Cardinal Pole, more than three hundred and thirty years ago.

To all sincere English-speaking Catholics, and eminently, therefore, to those of that marvellous Church of the United States so full of promise for the future, the progress of the faith in the Old Country must be a matter of interest, and as the future depends largely on the past, we have, on this account, ventured to place on record for American readers, this brief record of the personal experiences of an English Catholic during the latter half of the present century. *Laus Deo!*

ST. GEORGE MIVART.

THE ROMANCE OF THE "COUNTRY OF THE LAKES"
—THE FRENCH RACE—AND THE APOSTLE
OF LITERATURE IN DETROIT.

ONE of the latest of the current series of the lives of "American Statesmen," is "Lewis Cass, by Andrew C. McLaughlin, Assistant Professor of History in the University of Michigan, edited by John T. Morse."¹

Had the opening chapter been omitted, and the memoir commenced with the second chapter, on page 33, it would have been better for the standard of this historical series, for its reliability, and probably for the literary reputation of the biographer, connected as he is with the chair of History in the extensive institution at Ann Arbor, Michigan.

From the advent of Cass in Detroit, in 1812, and his appointment the following year as governor of the Northwest Territory, until his retirement from the cabinet of President Buchanan, just before the war of the Southern Rebellion, there is abundant material, if properly collated and edited, for several such volumes as the one under notice.

On page 4, of the opening chapter, the biographer remarks: "But the Iroquois could not be charmed by chanted vespers, nor softened by Christian influence. The priest endured tortures, and prayed without ceasing, and without avail. Had he been successful, the Indians of western New York and northern Ohio would have been won over to purposes of French statecraft."

This is an historical fiction, so stale and so shallow, and so frequently uttered, that it is unbecoming American writers to continue to give it currency.

If it be accepted as an index of the historical profundity of the biographer, it is a lamentable self-exposé of shallowness; if it be the result of prejudice, it is out of place in the history of such a true American as was General Cass, whose well known generous principles, fortified by experience, were the opposite of all that is bigoted in reference to the religion of his fellow citizens.

The story of the Iroquoian missions, 1640-1710, is the "Romance of the Country of the Lakes of New York."

The domain-proper of the "League of the Five Nations," of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or, as they were called by the French, "les Iroquois," extended from the Hudson to Lake Erie, and from Niagara Falls to the sources of the Genesee.

¹ Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York, 1891, 16mo., pp. 357.

The League held jurisdiction over the regions tributary to the St. Lawrence, from the Ottawa to the shores of the Georgian Bay ; over the country tributary to lakes Erie and Ontario ; and exercised sovereignty over all the Indian nations between the former lake, the Ohio river and the Atlantic Ocean. The domain-proper of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee was principally in Central New York, the nations having given their names to the lakes and the river near which their cantons had originally been built four centuries ago, comprising the Onondaga, the Oneida, the Seneca, the Cayuga lakes, and the Mohawk river.

The "Country of the Lakes," as it was called in the figurative language of its occupants, was a sylvan paradise, situated between the Dutch on the Hudson and the French settlements on the St. Lawrence.

No living mortal has seen this domain in its pristine loveliness.

If, at the present day, it is renowned for its romantic beauty, and admired by tourists from all quarters of civilization, what must have been its attractiveness before the axe of the white man had been heard, as it echoed within its solitudes, or the beauty of its scenery been marred by modern surroundings !

A race of warriors had, for two centuries, made the "Country of the Lakes" their home when Cartier first ascended the St. Lawrence.

Some of their chiefs, in a figurative manner, forbade his progress, but Cartier had come to stay. When the primitive settlements of the French were subsequently made on the shores of the St. Lawrence, they were ravaged and desolated continuously by the aboriginal lords of the soil.

The Iroquois became the relentless foes of the English settlers, as well as of the French. In the primitive villages of the latter, the cry, "les Iroquois," "les Iroquois," and in the former, the shout of "the Mohawks," "the Mohawks," paralyzed nearly all upon whose ears the ominous cry fell.

When the Catholic missionaries had, after great toil and the martyrdom of distinguished men, converted the people of the Huron nation, Huronia became an aboriginal Elysium. The country was invaded by the Iroquois, who claimed territorial jurisdiction, and devastated worse than were the villages of the Highlands of Scotland during the succeeding century by the German minions of the Duke of Cumberland.

The autonomy of the Huron nation was destroyed ; it was, as such, literally wiped out of existence. The Hurons were kindred in race with the Iroquois, and used a similar dialect. Some escaped the general slaughter, fled to Canada and westward by way of the lakes, while others, men, women and children, were brought as

captives to the Iroquois cantons in New York, adopted into the respective tribes, and, in time, were assimilated with the indigenous people of the Iroquoian commonwealth.

The constituency of the tribes of the League, who were utterly pagan, had been decimated by continuous warfare; and their lessened numbers were not only recruited by the captive element, but the physical standard of this race of Romans was restored by the new blood from Huronia.

It was by this drastic process that the leaven of Christianity was introduced, through Christian Huron captives, into the Iroquoian cantons.

The work of the French Jesuits had been as thorough in Huronia as that of the Spanish Jesuits had been in Paraguay. In both countries a pagan people had been converted to Christianity, and semi-civilization had succeeded to barbarism.

These are historical facts. How the parody of "chantered vespers" can apply without absurdity is self-evident.

The South American "reduction" was destroyed by the political jealousy of quasi Catholics, the North American Christian fabric by a rival barbarian confederacy *pur sang*.

Father Isaac Jogues, who, with Father Charles Raymbaut, another Huron missionary, had planted the Cross on the soil of Michigan, at Sault de Sainte Marie, in 1640, was, with his attendant, lay-brother René Goupil, captured and brought to the Mohawk canton.

Goupil was martyred, but Jogues was reserved for more refined torture.

During his captivity, his saintly personality did not escape the watchful eyes of the sagacious sachems, who observed him closely while he ministered to the Christian Hurons, some of whom were his own neophytes. It was the first experience of the sachems, by contact, with a Catholic priest, and the impression created was profound. The Mohawk sorcerers, jealous of the aureole of the missionary, claimed him by right for torture, and his days seemed numbered; but he was enabled to escape to Albany, where the Dutch Governor, Van Curler, sent him down the Hudson to New York. Here he was kindly received by the Dutch pastor, Dominie Megopolensis, and cared for until his passage to Europe was provided by the Dutch Governor, Van Kieft. There is much that is suggestive about the kind manner in which the fugitive French Jesuit was assisted by the Dutch functionaries at Albany and New York.

Had Jogues been found on British soil, a reward of £100 would have been paid his captor, while hanging and quartering would have awaited the prisoner. Arrived at Rome, so mutilated were his hands that a dispensation had to be obtained from the Holy

See before he could canonically celebrate the august sacrifice of the Mass. He subsequently returned to his brethren in Quebec.

In the meantime the clamors of the Christian Hurons in the Mohawk cantons for a missionary to reside amongst them had been so incessant, that the sachems were moved during a brief interval of peace to send a deputation to the French governor at Quebec to solicit a resident-missionary in their nation. The governor was unwilling to risk the life of a priest in such a perilous enterprise; but he referred the delegation to the Father Superior of the Jesuits in Quebec.

The latter, in charity for the souls endangered, promised the delegation a missionary, and they departed for their homes.

This was the origin of the Iroquoian missions, purely Christian in inception, the political power having refused to sanction the project.

Before outlining briefly the first and succeeding Iroquoian missions, their glorious success and their unfortunate extinction, the subject will be more appreciatively understood by an equally brief exposé of the composition of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee Confederacy.

At the formation of the League four centuries ago, a code of tribal, national and federal laws was established, which, in the language of the Iroquoian historian, Morgan, "were the most unique ever devised for the government of any people, and which have stood the test of centuries of time." However this may be, the fact remains that the same laws, with but slight changes, constitute the rule of life and the polity of the survivors of the race wherever found at the present day.

The ruling power was vested in a class of fifty sachems; each of the five nations was divided into tribes, and to certain of these tribes in each nation was allotted a limited number of sachems who were to be hereditary in the tribe from which they were originally chosen, and who were to succeed by the female line of descent exclusively.

The sachems were to be rulers, not warriors; they were rulers in their respective nations, with judicial and legislative functions, and supreme rulers when assembled in general council over the Confederacy. The seat of government was at Onondaga, where were the council-fire and the wampum records of its laws, treaties, councils and history. The custody of the "fire" and of the records had remained for centuries in hereditary sachemships.

"The annual councils of the fifty sachems," says Governor Clinton, "which were held near the council-fire at Onondaga were conducted with great decorum, ceremony and solemn deliberation. In the characteristics of profound policy they surpassed an assembly of feudal barons."¹

¹ Clinton's Discourse, 1811.

"The senators of Venice," says Father Hennepin, "do not appear with a graver countenance, and perhaps do not speak with more majesty than the Iroquoian sachems when assembled in council."¹

"The government of the Iroquois League," says Colden, "foreshadowed the American Republic, which succeeded centuries later."² Bancroft, Schoolcraft, Morgan, and other historians may be consulted for similar testimony.

Each of the five nations had the right to manage its own affairs and to declare war on its own account; but such action did not bind the other nations nor the Confederacy, which was subject to the council of all the sachems, the enactments of which, to be valid, required unanimous consent.

War was conducted by chiefs and warriors subject to local regulations.

The Ho-de-no-sau-nee, or "Long House," had, figuratively, two doors. The "first fire" and western door, leading from the west, was confided to the Seneca nation, with hereditary sachemships as guardians. The "fifth fire," the eastern door, was confided to the Mohawks, with similar guardians; the former nation was the most numerous and had a larger territory to defend, but the Mohawks were the most warlike and were charged with the custody of the conquered and tributary nations between their castle and the Atlantic Ocean.

When the autocratic rule of the League over so many Indian sovereignties, the vast territorial extents of that domination, the sachemships, with pre-historic foundation and hereditary caste, the composition of the respective nations, composed as these nations were of trained aboriginal warriors, and the system of tribal, of national and of confederate government of the Iroquois League are considered, the "Chanted Vesper" phrase used in connection with missionary work in the Iroquoian cantons by some of the most learned and intelligent men in North America, at the time, appears in all its vapid absurdity.

In compliance with the petition of the Mohawk nation, the Father Superior of the Jesuits at Quebec organized the "mission of the martyrs," as it was subsequently named, and sent Father Jogues as its apostle. But in the meantime the Mohawks had declared war against the French, and when the missionary expedition entered upon Mohawk soil, its chief was warned that he was on hostile territory; his escort precipitately fled and left him with his personal attendants.

He was captured, and in a few days the head of this holy priest

¹ Hennepin, *Voyages*, etc., p. 54.

² Dr. Shea's *Colden*, p. 15.

was fastened upon the outer postern of the Mohawk castle. This martyrdom occurred in 1646.

The subsequent missions in the Iroquoian cantons need not be described; they have been briefly and pathetically summarized by Dr. Shea and other historians, but their true and graphic detailed history is only attainable in the voluminous records of the missionaries themselves, known as the "Relations," which have been published in the language in which these accounts were written by the venerable actors in the dramas which they describe. They cover a period of time running about fifty years and ending in 1710.

In the meantime, the Dutch régime on the Hudson had been succeeded by that of the English, so that the "Country of the Lakes" intervened between regions actually occupied by people antagonistic in race and creed.

It would not be just, however, to pass too briefly over what had been accomplished during the Iroquois missions. In the Mohawk nation, whose soil had been sprinkled with the blood of the martyrs, Goupil and Jogues, great results had been obtained during the respective missions. The subsequent missionaries found this race of warriors steeped in the vilest state of debauchery, and the unfortunate women and children in the cantons in abject misery.

These heroic priests went to work to redeem the Mohawk warrior from degradation, and after a hard battle succeeded in excluding English rum from the cantons; they then entered upon the work of evangelization, and succeeded so well, that they numbered among their converts Krin, the head sachem, and others of renown, sachems, chiefs, and warriors. Chapels were built in the three fortified cantons; sodalities of the Blessed Virgin were established, at whose meetings the rosary beads were told by warrior as well as squaw; and a school was established for the instruction of Mohawk youth.

Sobriety and order existed under Christian control, where vice and debauchery had reigned. The hard lot of the Mohawk squaw in her conjugal relations was mitigated; and as she was taught the sublime lessons of Christianity, she found consolation in offering her travail to the Mother of Sorrows.

What was accomplished in the Mohawk cantons, the stronghold of Paganism, was, to a greater or lesser extent, the experience in the other Iroquois cantons, but more especially in the capital of the League.

Onondaga became, in time, the centre of Christian life. Here were achieved the greatest intellectual triumphs in the conversion of the sachems, with whom the missionary fathers lived like the brothers of one family; and among the Onondaga people, who were by nature the most gentle of the Iroquois race, the truths

of Christianity were universally accepted. In the chapels the religious services were conducted with as great regularity, and with as much formality as in the churches of the French colony.¹

One of the most celebrated conversions at Onondaga was that of Garacontie, the head sachem of the Iroquois League; the baptism of this convert, who lived and died in the odor of sanctity, is described by Dr. Shea: "The ceremony," he says, "was performed with great solemnity in the Cathedral of Quebec, before an assemblage such as the French settlements alone could show. In that pile, all feudal in its architecture, amid the descendants of the Crusaders, men of noble lineage in the olden world, amid Hurons from Montmorency, Tiontonates from Mackinaw, Mohegans from the Hudson, Algonquins from the St. Lawrence, Chipeways from Lake Superior, and Iroquois from every tribe from the Mohawk to Lake Erie, stood Garacontie, to receive baptism at the hands of Laval, as the chieftain Clovis did centuries before at the hands of Remy. With calm attention he followed the rite. Clear and distinct were his responses as to the doctrines he would embrace, positive, to sternness itself, his declaration of adherence to Christianity. Then amid the thunder of the cannon of Fort St. Louis, with the Governor-General standing by as his sponsor, the waters of baptism flowed on his head, and the greatest Iroquois of the epoch, the virtual head of the League, was now the Christian Daniel Garacontie."²

This scene might be painted in illustration of the progress of civilization in North America. It would make a vivid picture.

The convert in his native costume, his distinguished sponsor in court attire, the group of armed descendants of the Crusaders, the Indian chiefs from nations inhabiting the soil from the Atlantic Ocean to Lake Superior, the black and the brown robed missionaries, smiling as they bowed in recognition of some neophyte from far distant regions to which they had borne the standard of the Cross, the tall and venerable Bishop Laval in his rich robes, the altar ablaze with waxen lights, and the vaulted roof of "that pile all feudal in its architecture," with the background of painted warriors, and colonists,—such a scene would inspire an artist to place on canvas a picture rivalling in historic interest Stanley's great painting of Red Jacket.

How suggestive such a work of art would be, if suspended over

¹ Such was the established order of religious life, that a synod of all the fathers engaged in the Iroquoian field of missionary labor, was held at Onondaga, where during ten days these saintly and distinguished priests, enjoyed the sweets of familiar intercourse, so dearly prized by all members of religious orders.

² Shea's *Missions*, p. 280. Dr. Shea draws his account from the relation of the Jesuit Fathers, 1669-1670, c. ii.

the cathedra of the Professor of History in the University of Michigan, with the title of "The Chanted Vespers!"

In the meantime the French governors, who had become weary from their unsuccessful efforts to placate the Iroquois, had formed an alliance, offensive and defensive, with the Algonquian nations; a measure of profound political wisdom and of far-reaching results. By this alliance was secured control of the shores and islands of Lakes Huron, Michigan, and Superior, the Illinois region, and the vast extent of territory lying between the Sault de Ste. Marie and Hudson's Bay.

The council-fire of the Algonquian confederacy had, from times remote, been in the custody of the Chippewa nation, and the seat of its power was on the southwestern shore of Lake Superior.¹ It included 104 distinct organized "nations," or tribes, many of whom in the East had been subdued by, or were tributary to, the Iroquois; its leading nations in the West were the Chippewas, the Creeks, the Ottawas, the Potawotomies, and the Miamis; and in the east, the Abnakis, the Micmacs, the Mohegans, the New England, Virginia, and southern nations. The unconquerable Algonquian nations were deadly foes of the Iroquois. While, therefore, the young colony of New France might suffer from the predatory inroads of the Iroquois, there was behind its political fabric the support of the most numerous confederacy of the Indian nations on the North American continent. But New France did not desire war; peace was necessary to the welfare of the colony. Catholic missionaries sought the heads of the Algonquian nations in their far-distant homes, and, on the part of the Governor-General, induced them to send delegates to a general council of the American Indian nations to be convened at Quebec. At this great council a basis of peace was formulated, and promises were made by the opposing nations that the treaty agreed upon would be faithfully adhered to. This was the political status between the French, the Iroquois, and the Algonquian powers about the middle of the seventeenth century.

There was a fourth power, having no share in this treaty, the colonial English power, jealous of the advantages gained by the French in the west, and bitterly opposed to the evangelization of the Iroquois cantons by priests from Quebec.

During the missionary epoch in the "Country of the Lakes," about once in each succeeding decade, as often as the Iroquois seemed about ready to settle down in peaceful Christian life, a storm would arise, either in the Mohawk or Seneca cantons, and the war-cry be raised against the French or their allies.

While all was apparently tranquil in the Onondaga valley, the

¹ General Cass, *His. Lec.*, p. 14.

death-song may have been sung on the Mohawk. The League itself was not at war; some one of its nations was. There was a large enough Pagan element quietly waiting for a pretence to shed Christian blood in all the cantons. The lives of the missionaries became imperilled and they withdrew to Quebec. Time and again did this occur, but as often did the missionaries return to their flocks.

Who incited these disturbances? The English governors, covertly, by their emissaries, aided with rum, while France and England were actually at peace.

A refuge had been founded at Loretto near Quebec for the fugitive Christian Hurons; their descendants may be seen there still.

A similar retreat was founded at La Prairie for the Christian Iroquois when forced by adverse circumstances to expatriate themselves; no more instructive spectacle than a group of the Iroquois race at Caughnawaga at the present day may be witnessed by those who understand the relation this hybrid people bear to the missionary period in the Iroquoian cantons two centuries or more ago. But the missionaries had other evils to contend against than English rum, English jealousy and Pagan malignity. The fatuity and double dealing of the French governors compromised at times the situation of the missionaries. This is an historical fact.¹ One particular instance may be quoted from Dr. Shea; the passage was written while the fire of youth still warmed his chivalrous blood. "Yet not Dongan" (the English governor) "but Denonville" (the French governor) "was to give the last blow to the Iroquois missions," says Dr. Shea, "ending as they had begun, in the captivity of a missionary."² The incident referred to is that related by Charlevoix, which should be read to be fully understood and to appreciate the indignation of the great Catholic historian, who says: "Will it be credited that a Catholic governor could sport with the life of such a devoted man? Yet so it was. Father John de Lamberville little knew as he bent his way to Onondaga that he was the dupe of an act of treachery, as savage as any by which the faithless Iroquois had sullied their name."

Father John de Lamberville had lived the better part of his sacerdotal life among the sachems at Onondaga, where he was loved as a father and revered as a saint. The scene in the council-

¹ "La mauvaise administration," says Chateaubriand, "du Canada, les fausses démarches des commandants, une politique étroite ou oppressive, mettaient plus d'entraves aux bonnes intentions des Jésuites que l'opposition de l'ennemi." *Oeuvres de Chateaubriand*. Tome iv., c. viii., p. 257. Paris ed.

² Shea's *Missions*, 314, 15. Charlevoix ii. 335. *N. Y. Doc. Hist.* i. 216. Charlevoix received from the lips of the Ven. Father de Lamberville the story he relates, after the latter had returned to France.

house of the sachems when the venerable missionary was called upon to explain his connection with the outrage referred to, was pathetic in the extreme. But the sachems knew Father de Lamberville too well to believe him guilty; they not only spared his life, but sent a strong and reliable escort to see that he reached Canada in safety.

During the first decade of the eighteenth century, when the Iroquoian missions were once more re-established and began to flourish, they were in their turn destroyed by the intrigues as well as by the overt machinations of the English governors.

In the meantime many distinguished converts had moved from the cantons to La Prairie, where they could enjoy that peace denied them in their sylvan homes. Among the number may be mentioned the saintly Catherine Teh-gak-wita, the "Lily of the Mohawk," at whose venerated tomb, it is claimed, many miracles have resulted from her intercession.

The history of the Crusades, perhaps the entire history of chivalry itself, contains no chapters more vivid than the history of the Iroquoian missions, constituting, as it does, "the romance of the country of the lakes of New York"

In both histories, is there an example to be found in any one order of knighthood more romantic or more chivalrous than that of the twenty-five distinguished and professed members of one religious order, who imperilled life and endured such privations, or who labored so unceasingly for the accomplishment of such a noble object, as was the evangelization of the Iroquoian race?¹

In the war between England and France for supremacy on North American soil, the Algonquian League on the side of the French was opposed by the Iroquoian League on the side of the English. The result of that struggle, due in a great measure to the corrupt influence of the profligate surroundings of the court of France, was fatal to French rule on the American continent.

When, a decade or so later, the American colonies rebelled, the British sought to enlist the Iroquoian League on their side. The general council of the sachems, however, declined to interfere in a family quarrel they disliked, leaving it optional with any of their nations² to take sides in the contest, as was their right.

The Mohawk and Cayuga nations were won over to the British side. The warriors of these nations did not participate in the ope-

¹ There is no question as to the final results of the Iroquoian missions, had the efforts of the Fathers not been thwarted as they had been; the race would have become Christian, and the League would have become a neutral power.

² In the meantime a sixth nation had been added to the League under peculiarly chivalric operation; this was the Tuscarora, which had been assigned territory near Niagara.

rations of regular warfare, but they were sent in bands against the defenceless hamlets on the American borders.

The rifle, the tomahawk, the scalping-knife and the torch, directed with the inherent ferocity of these savages, accomplished their bloody work, the victims of which were old men, women and children. The debt of wrath piled up against them at the close of the Revolutionary War left them no hope of mercy, and they fled to Canada.

The hegira of these nations disrupted the political autonomy of the League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee, which, after an existence of three centuries, came to an inglorious end.

The romantic domain of the "Country of the Lakes" had, during a century, been changed from its pristine attractiveness of missionary times. Comfortable homes, extensive cultivated fields, meadows, herds, orchards and vineyards, had replaced the cabins and the corn-patches; from the Mohawk to Niagara was a continuous garden.

The Continental Congress decreed the punishment of the Iroquoian people for the devastation of their frontier hamlets, and to General John Sullivan was assigned the task of inflicting this punishment; he led his veteran regiments upon Iroquoian soil, and the work of devastation was made complete from the Mohawk river to the shores of Lake Erie.

The Tuscaroras being on the British side of the Niagara river, escaped. One after another the strongholds and castles were razed, the cantons destroyed, and the orchards cut down; the beautiful "Country of the Lakes" was made desolate, and in the process of punishment, Christian and Pagan, friend and foe, suffered alike.

But the League still held title to the soil of their ancient domain, which, in the process of civilization, had to be acquired by treaty and purchase.

In time there only remained to the remnants of the nations of this once powerful confederacy a few "reservations," from whose forests the game of the hunter had long since fled.

The study of the history of the League of the Ho-de-no-sau-nee is so deeply interesting that he who becomes familiar with its romantic and tragic incidents cannot look upon the picture of a bark canoe, or upon one or more aboriginals, without a vision of exciting scenes which will never leave his memory.

Judge Sibley, of Detroit, thus writes in 1802 to Judge Burnett: "Nothing frightens the Canadians like taxes. They would prefer to be treated like dogs, and kennel under the whip of a tyrant, than contribute to the support of a free government."¹

¹ *American Statesmen*, Cass, p. 31.

Probably no writer cognizant of the status of the French race in Detroit at the time mentioned, would have quoted these remarks of Sibley; they are misleading and unjust.

Judge Cooley dispassionately says: "If the wisdom of the President in his appointments had been equal to that of the legislation, the early history of the territory (Michigan) would have been more orderly, and perhaps more prosperous also. But Mr. Jefferson with singular want of tact and judgment, sent to this distant frontier territory, as rulers for its rough and peculiar population, a number of persons who were not only ignorant of this part of the country and of its people, but were without practical acquaintance with similar communities elsewhere. It was not to be expected, therefore, that they would readily and easily come into sympathetic and cordial relations with the people they were to govern. Some of them also had personal peculiarities and deficiencies which would render entirely improbable a successful and orderly administration of affairs."¹

Judge Campbell, who was a native of Detroit, says: "The British and other travellers who visited the country in 1796, and shortly thereafter, expressed their surprise at the number and wealth of the merchants and the extent of their business, and stated that all kinds of articles were nearly as cheap in Detroit as in the eastern cities. The people were gay and prosperous, and indulged as freely in the pomps and vanities of dress and amusements as their contemporaries in the elegant circles of the East. The truth-telling inventories of the estates of the inhabitants who had done with the world, include plate and silks and all manner of luxuries, as well as the *titres de noblesse*, which had ceased to be important among the new-fledged republicans."²

We have said that no writer familiar with the condition of the French race at the time would have borrowed Judge Sibley's remarks, nor would he have sought, like the biographer of Cass, to describe, this race as a lazy, shiftless, ignorant class, living mostly in cabins or small houses on "pipe stem" farms which were indifferently cultivated.

We shall go further than Judge Cooley has gone, in describing the American functionaries who came to rule Detroit and its territory at the epoch under consideration. As a rule these gentlemen were talented and thrifty. Though their salaries were slender and they came poor, they generally died rich. They came to administer the laws of the United States over a people who were nearly all

¹ *American Commonwealths*, Michigan, by Thomas McIntyre Cooley, p. 147, 2d ed. Boston, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1886.

² *Outlines of the Political History of Michigan*, by James V. Campbell, 1876, p. 212.

Catholic, and whose religious interests had been carefully guarded by an unbroken line of pastorate of a century's duration. The language of this people was French, their customs and amusements were such as had prevailed, and for that matter still prevails, in the fair provinces in France from whence their forefathers had come.

The administrators of American laws were alien both in religion and in language to the people who possessed the soil on the shores of the Detroit, as well as to those of the great majority of the business men whose enterprise and wealth had made the post second only in importance to that of Montreal. No objection need be entered to the religious prejudices of the average American existing at the time in question in the thirteen federal States; the objection lies, as Judge Cooley so guardedly states, in the sending of such men to Detroit at the time, when far abler material was available in its resident population.

The French race on the American side of the river, when freed from British rule, were brought within the pale of the American Union, and became its citizens; they were neither outcasts nor homeless adventurers, but bona fide citizens, entitled to all the privileges of such citizenship. Moreover, the freedom of their religion, the use of their customs and of their language had been guaranteed them by treaties between France and England.

The right of conquest carried with it only control of the soil, but not control over the possessions, rights and immunities enjoyed by its inhabitants. Such rights could not be violated without national dishonor.

The impropriety, we might add the injustice, of sending men as representatives of the Union to Detroit, who honestly believed the Pope to be Antichrist, who were ready to swear by "Fox's Book of Martyrs," who despised Catholics for "idolatry" and other hideous abominations attributed to "papists," will be admitted, and more fully explain what Judge Cooley failed to say.

Moreover, these otherwise intelligent officials, were disqualified because they were devoid of an accomplishment, which at the time, in most countries, was an essential in the make-up of a gentleman—the practical knowledge of the French language, which was the language used by the people of Detroit and its vicinity. This defect, probably, did not worry these alien officials, as much as it annoyed and inconvenienced the people.

With regard to the intelligence of the French race, Monsieur Rameau, a French traveller and author, speaks as follows: "A croire certaines gens aujourd'hui, il semblerait vraiment que l'art d'écrire soit une innovation merveilleuse que l'invasion Anglaise (Américain) aurait importé en ce pays;—mais avant cette époque un grand nombre de vos aïeux lisaient et écrivaient fort bien, et je

dois dire qu' en parcourant les vieux papiers, j'ai été même étonné, vu le peu des resources dont on disposait, et les difficultés de toute nature qu' on devait éprouver à instruire les enfants dans ce lieu si reculé, j'ai été étonné souvent de trouver dans l' ancienne population du Détroit une si forte proportion de personnes sachant lire et écrire.

" Or ne croyez point que cette écriture, fut écriture d' apprentis, begayant sur le papier des lettres grossières et mal assemblées, —souvent elle est fort belle; combien de fois en compulsant les vieux actes, ai-je cherché à deviner dans les formes capricieuses de ces lignes séculaires, l' empreinte du caractere et des pensées de ceux qui les avait tracés.

" On ne voit point alors de ces écritures couchées, natives, toutes semblables, d' une régularité fade, laides dans leur monotonie comme le produit d' une fabrique à vapeur, et trop souvent illisibles.

" Ces signatures sont larges et caractérisés, variés mais toujours gravées d' une main firme, elles sont fortement assises et distinctes, indice d' une pensée calme et sûr d' elle même, bien établi dans sa vie, qui sait d' ou elle vient et ou elle va; leur contexture n'a point de précipitation, c'est l' expression d' un homme qui réfléchit à ce qu'il fait. Chacun y laissait la trace de son caractère comme il convient à un être humain et intelligent."¹

The grants of land made to the original colonists were mostly uniform in extent of arpentage, averaging from seven hundred to one thousand feet frontage on the Strait, and extending back in the

¹ Rameau, *Notes, etc.*, Montreal, 1861. The text is here quoted as more expressive than any translation. [In view of the arrogant pretensions to a monopoly of all learning by the average Anglo-Saxon, it may be well to translate this interesting passage. "Some there are who really seem to regard the art of writing as a wonderful innovation imported into this region at the time of the Anglo-American invasion. But before that epoch large numbers of your forefathers read and wrote very well. Indeed, I must say that in perusing old papers, I have often been astonished, considering the paucity of resources at their command and the difficulties of all kinds which they must have encountered in the instruction of children in these remote parts, at finding that so large a proportion of the ancient population of Detroit could read and write. Nor was their writing the rude, ill-looking scrawl of the beginner; in many cases it is extremely beautiful. How often, whilst examining those old documents, have I not occupied myself in conjecturing from the capricious flourishes of those lines written in a generation long since past, the bent of character and the thoughts of those who had penned them. The writing of those days was not done by fixed rules, or in haste, or all alike with insipid regularity and unpleasing monotony, as if the product of a machine, and too often illegible. The signatures were bold and expressive of individual character, varied, but ever written with a firm hand, well-formed and distinct, the index of a calm and steady soul that has no doubts as to the meaning of life, but knows both whence it comes and whither it tends. The absence of precipitation in the handwriting argues a man who reflects upon what he is doing. Each writer has left the impress of his character upon his writing, as becomes a human and intelligent being."—EDITOR.]

forest about three miles. This division of the soil was wisely made in the interest of the colonist, and no one grantee possessed a greater frontage than the maximum stated. By this division each colonist had access to the waters of the Strait as a fishery for domestic uses, and for convenience, on which in summer his boat enabled him to carry his family to church, or to visit friends, or to take the products of his farm to be sold to the merchants at the post; while in winter the same conveniences were obtained by his ponies and sleighs on the ice.

When building his home, the line of his neighbor's farm had been chosen as a site for the homestead, not only for social intercourse with his neighbor, for the French were a genial and a happy race, but for mutual assistance in the hour of danger. An Indian population three times as numerous as that of the French surrounded the latter on both sides of the strait.

Four distinct Indian nations had their homes on the soil in this vicinity, and all along the frontier line Indian wars had retarded civilization; the thirst for fire-water tempted the uncontrolled savage to covert pillage or worse—outrage.

The colonist had learned but too dearly by experience, that surplus wealth, either in money, in cattle or in grain, only excited the cupidity of the lawless savage.

The extent of his cultivation, for obvious reasons, included his orchard of delicious fruits, his meadows, his fields for corn and for grain, while the untilled forest served as a pastorage in summer for his cattle and his ponies, and in winter as a hunting field, when not engaged in harvesting surplus timber or wood, which always found ready sale at the post.

The sneer at the homes of this race standing on "pipe stem farms," is no less unjust and as contemptible as the stigma of laziness.

"From our consideration of the agriculture of the early French settlers on the Detroit," says Bela Hubbard,¹ "we turn naturally to their homesteads. We form some judgment of a people from the houses they live in. The better class of dwellings of the French habitants were of quite a substantial character, considered as mere timber structures.

"They were built of logs, squared and covered with clapboards, and the roofs shingled with cedar. They were of one or two stories, according to the need or ability of the owner, but were never ambitious.

"Generally they were one *full* story, the upper or half story being

¹ P. 131, *Memorials of a Half Century in Michigan and the Lake Region*, by Bela Hubbard, Putnam and Sons, New York and London, 1888, octavo, pp. 581.

chiefly within the roof, which was high, and lighted by small dormer windows projecting on the front and rear sides. The entrance was in the centre, and a hall ran from front to rear. A low and perfectly plain veranda was another usual feature."

One of the oldest and most noted structures of this class was the "Cass House," which remained intact more than one hundred and fifty years.¹

Another old domicile of the times of French régime, the "Lafferty House,"² stood half a mile below, and was torn down in 1861, to give place to structures better suited to the wants of modern times. It was erected in 1747, and was, at the time of its destruction, in excellent preservation; the timbers were heavy and solid, and the stone chimney set off the large, open fire-place which marked an age of hospitality and good cheer. Another well-known old mansion, the "Knaggs House," was for several years the residence of Bela Hubbard.

It consists of two parts: one a low structure of a single story, with an attic. It is of unknown age, and like the "Cass" and "Lafferty" houses bears marks of Indian outrages. The panes of glass throughout all the windows were a curiosity, being of a size entirely disused and no longer sold by dealers.³

With the testimony of Judge Cooley, Michigan's well known jurist, as to the "manner of man" the American administrator was in these early times, with the testimony of James V. Campbell, Michigan's Chief Justice, and of Bela Hubbard, as to the status of the good old Catholic colonists at the same period, their reputation may stand against the imputations thrown out by this newly fledged writer upon the Detroit of the olden time and its Catholic people. But there is one imputation implied against this race in Judge Sibley's bilious-colored letter to Judge Burnet, which we shall not leave unnoticed. Were the French race loyal to their new American rulers? We shall let Mr. Hubbard answer.

"I cannot omit," he says, "to mention a commendable trait in the French character—their early and sincere attachment to the United States and her republican institutions." The italics are ours.

"To be known," he continues, "as a Frenchman was to be known as a patriot; and in the times which tried men's souls—and few parts of our country had more varied and bitter experience—the Frenchman was always our reliable and active ally; cool and unflinching in danger; shrewd and watchful when caution was most needed.

¹ St. Martin was the colonist's name who built this house.

² La Ferté was the original owner's name and ancestor of the Laffertys.

³ We saw glass 5 x 6 in an old house on the St. Lawrence, near Montreal.

"If a man was wanted for a dangerous enterprise, it was a Frenchman who was chosen."¹

Rameau, who spent a long time in Canada and Detroit, in search of documentary evidence relating to a colonial land grant, went through the French archives of St. Anne's Church, Detroit, which cover a period of nearly two centuries, several times, and examined all the old records in this locality for the *actes*, as he calls them, needed for his case. He must have become familiar with the handwriting of every French proprietor on both sides of the Strait.

His testimony establishes the intellectual status of this old French Roman Catholic race of Detroit, in the olden time, in spite of all the sneers of "pipe stem" writers.

But there is a still more serious accounting to be called for in the concluding chapter.

To write about Detroit during the three first decades of the present century, and especially to outline the history of Cass during this same period, and to fail to mention his illustrious contemporary, the Very Rev. Gabriel Richard, is as great an omission as it would be to write the history of the American Revolution leaving out the name of George Washington.

Father Richard's participation in the current events of his times was so prominent that local historians of eminence have assigned to this priest and his works an honorable place in the early history of American rule, in the history of religion, and in the advancement of civilization under that rule in Detroit and in the Northwest Territory. As time has developed western history, the historic form of Richard becomes more distinct in its grand outlines.

Judge Cooley says of him: "Father Richard would have been a man of mark in almost any community and at any time."²

Judge James V. Campbell, who in his younger days was a contemporary of Richard, says: "His tall and sepulchral figure was familiar to every one during the long period during which he filled his sacred mission. He was not only a man of elegant learning, but of excellent common sense and a very public spirited citizen. He encouraged education in every way, not only by organizing and patronizing schools for the immediate training of his own people, but by favoring all other schemes for general intelligence. He brought to Detroit the earliest printing press that was known

¹ Memorials, etc., p. 142.

In the catalogue of "countersigns" appertaining to the regulations of the United States Army, will be found in its place, to be used in its turn: "Major Antoine De Quindre." This officer was one of the old French race of Detroit, and a scion of the noblesse of France. His distinguished bravery during the war of 1812 in this locality is thus acknowledged by the American Government in a manner which invites emulation and creates an imperishable record of renown.

² *Michigan*, Cooley, p. 141, 2d ed.

in the territory, and compiled and published some religious and educational works for his own flock, and some selections from French authors for reading. He was an early officer of the university (the University of Michigan now at Ann Arbor) and a teacher or professor in it. His acquaintance was prized among Protestants as well as Catholics. His quaint humor and shrewd sense in no way weakened by his imperfect pronunciation of English are pleasantly remembered by all who had the good fortune to know him; while his brief prayer for the legislature, that they might make laws for the people and not for themselves, was a very comprehensive summary of sound political philosophy."¹

When in 1789-92 the church in France, the monarchy, the nobility, and the aristocracy of the robe and of the sword had been engulfed in the whirlpool of blood and terror, while it was still possible for a priest to leave France, a group of young and distinguished Sulpicians, by a previous arrangement between l'Abbé Emery and Bishop Carroll, left France and came to Baltimore. This was in 1792.

Among this group was the Rev. Gabriel Richard, scion of a good old Catholic stock, having been born in Saintes, France, in 1764.

He was soon after assigned to missionary work in Illinois, where he remained until 1798, when he was appointed assistant to Rev. Michael Levadoux, pastor of St. Anne's Church in Detroit, and the first incumbent under American hierarchical jurisdiction. Father Levadoux was also a Sulpician, as was Father John Dilhet, who had accompanied Father Richard.

An outline of the situation in Detroit at this period has been given in the preceding pages. It was an old Catholic city, but had recently fallen under the political jurisdiction of the federal government.

The church of St. Anne at the time was the fourth of its name in the line of succession; the original chapel having been dedicated to the mother of the Blessed Virgin by Father Constantine Delhalle, a Recollet monk, in 1701. Its founder was killed by an Indian's bullet six years later; the chapel and its successors were in their turn destroyed, the present church² having been built by Father Simplicius Bouquet, another Recollet monk, in 1754, and consecrated in 1755 by the Bishop of Quebec.

The vicarial jurisdiction of Detroit included the care of the

¹ Campbell, *Outlines of the Political History of Michigan*, p. 255. Catholic authorities may be referred to for light upon the outlines of Father Richard and his times, as follows: *Annals of the Propagation of the Faith*, 1800-33; "Spalding's Life of Flaget," *U. S. Catholic Magazine*, vol. vi.; and the *Life and Times of Bishop Carroll* by Dr. Shea.

² The St. Anne of 1798.

French race living on the water-line beginning at Lake Erie and extending upward to Lake St. Clair. Its dependencies embraced the old missionary stations on the islands and shores of Lakes Huron and Michigan.

In 1800 Father Richard commenced a tour of the lake dependencies, taking passage on a government vessel on June 20th, and after a stormy voyage reached Mackinac Island June 29th.

He remained on the island about two months, teaching and administering the sacraments; he then visited the Ottawas on Lake Huron, visited St. Joseph's Island, ascended the St. Mary's river to the Sault, and returned in October to Detroit. He wrote an account of his mission to Bishop Carroll. The Indians had mostly lapsed into paganism and had to a great extent become brutalized from debauchery.

He described the condition of the half-breeds and explained the great necessity existing for missionary laborers in the Lake Regions of Michigan, Wisconsin and Illinois.

In the meantime Father Levadoux, whose health began to fail, had applied for and obtained permission from Bishop Carroll to return to France. Father Richard succeeded to the pastorate and the vicarial rights, having Father John Dilhet as his assistant.¹

Looking into the spiritual condition of the parish, he found some irregularities growing out of the annual visits of the fur-trading employees and the convocations of the Indian tribes; these he corrected as far as lay in his power.

He enlarged the church, presbytery and school houses; but, having no suitable teachers available he instructed and prepared four young ladies of wealthy families as teachers, and placed them in charge of a seminary for the higher branches of education of their sex. Not unmindful of the intellectual wants of the young men of his parish, he opened a seminary in which he and Father Dilhet taught the higher branches, and lectured upon religious history, literature and the sciences.

This was the condition of the parish, when on the eleventh of June, 1805, Detroit was stricken with a calamity as sudden as it was overwhelming. The city was entirely destroyed by fire—and, as Father Dilhet writes, "in three hours, between nine o'clock and noon, nothing was to be seen of the city except a mass of burning débris and chimney tops stretching like pyramids into the air. We had barely time to remove the vestments and furniture of the church and the movable property in the schools."²

Father Richard had witnessed in this brief time the destruction

¹ Father Dilhet was a devoted priest, of fine literary culture, and a gentleman. He was recalled to France in 1805.

² *White's Memoir*, p. 49.

of the material evidence of his six years' hard work, of church, presbytery and schools, as well as the homes of his parishioners; there remained only smoking ruins.

The old colonial city was completely wiped out of existence. Much inconvenience and suffering among the people ensued; but the indomitable pastor was equal to the emergency. He at once procured shelter tents from the fort for the women and children who had no refuge, and using not only his personal means but his credit as well, he purchased food and other temporary necessities for the homeless and destitute, without regard to creed or race.

St. Anne's Church, presbytery and schools were soon after located in improvised buildings in Spring Wells, about a mile below the site of the ancient church.¹ In 1807, there being no other minister in Detroit, Governor Hull invited Father Richard to hold non-Catholic meetings, if such a term may be permitted, on Sundays in the new Council House; these meetings were regularly held at noon, and were attended by the Governor and family, by the officers of the garrison with their families, by most of the officials and by the non-Catholic merchants.

The lectures, delivered in the English language, were upon Christianity and kindred topics, without controversial allusions.

In 1808 Father Richard set up the first printing press erected in the Northwest territory, having brought from the East the first practical printer known in the West, Mr. A. Coxeshawe. The same year the educational establishments were completed, and comprised: Primary schools for boys and girls, a seminary for young ladies under charge of the four teachers mentioned, an academy for young men, under the learned pastor's direction, assisted by M. Sallière, a young professor of literature, chemistry and astronomy, whom Father Richard had brought from France; and a school for the technical education of Indian girls. The attention of the present promoters of literary culture among Catholics, is directed to the fact, that eighty-four years ago in Detroit, Father Richard's seminary for young ladies, taught by the very *crème de la crème* of the old families of this old city, and the academy for young men, having, besides the pastor, a French professor of ability, were both supplied with astronomical, chemical and geographical apparatus; while in the school for teaching useful arts to Indian girls, it may be mentioned, that among other appliances used, were a score or more of spinning wheels.

In the meantime this pioneer Catholic priest, this apostle and

¹ These premises continued to be used until 1820, when the basement of the new church was dedicated.

promoter of literary culture in the Northwest, edited and published the following works: "L'Âme Pénitente," 16mo., 1809, pp. 300; "The Child's Spelling Book," 16mo., 1809; "La Journée du Chrétien," 16mo., 1811, pp. 350; "Les Ornemens de la Mémoire," 16mo., 1811, pp. 130; "Epîtres et Évangiles, pour les dimanches et fêtes, Français et Anglais," 16mo., 1812, pp. 396; "Petite Catéchisme Historique," 16mo., 1812, pp. 300; "Journal des Enfants," 16mo., 1812, pp. 196.¹

At the period of the publication of these works, the preparation of which for the press, their editing as well as their proof reading, involving a vast amount of labor, books suitable for Catholic readers were exceedingly rare in Detroit; they could only be obtained from Montreal or New York, and were not always of the kind desired; besides, their high prices excluded their use amongst most families. These books supplied a great want existing in the old city, even before, but especially since the destruction of the city in 1805.

Their publication at the time, and under the circumstances, accomplished a double purpose, while attesting the aim of their editor to have been to teach, to edify, and to perfect intellectually, as well as morally and religiously the youth of his own generation of pastoral care.

To Father Stephen Theodore Badin, a brother Sulpician, the first Catholic priest ordained in the United States,² belongs the honor of being the compiler of the first Catholic work published in the West,³ the "Principles of Christianity," Bardstown, Ky., 1805. But for Father Richard is claimed the honor of editing and publishing the first devotional, educational and literary books in the Northwest territory; and the honor of editing and printing in English the first Scriptural work, the "Epistles and Gospels," in 1812. There is, I believe, no one who questions his right.⁴

Another and a grievous calamity was impending over Detroit. This was the war of 1812. The old city, far removed from the support of the older States, was bound to suffer; and the first serious

¹ A complete set of Father Richard's books was presented by the writer to the Library of the Paulist Fathers in New York, about twelve years ago.

² By Bishop Carroll, in 1793, at Baltimore.

³ Appleton's *Cyclop. of Am. Biog.*

⁴ In his introduction to *Les Ornemens de la Mémoire*, Father Richard says: "Tous les gens de goût conviennent que la connoissance de la poésie doit avoir une place distinguée dans le plan d'une bonne éducation. Les beaux arts en général sont la nourriture et le plaisir de l'âme.

"La lecture des beaux morceaux de poésie en particulier, élève les esprits, étend agréablement la sphère des connoissances utiles; elle produit dans l'âme les sentiments délicieux.

"Mais cette lecture pour être utile demande un choix judicieux et de sages précautions, surtout pour ce qui regarde la pureté des mœurs," etc.

blow felt was the pusillanimous surrender of the post by the Governor.

Priests are regarded by Christian nations at war among themselves, as non-combatants. Father Richard was every inch a priest, but each of those inches was thoroughly and patriotically American; for this crime he was arrested by the British General, and sent in irons to the military prison on the opposite side of the river, where he remained until peace was declared.¹ In the meantime his apostolic works had experienced a great set-back, which required time and labor to overcome before their normal condition could be restored. Just previous to the breaking out of hostilities, there arrived in the city the first organ ever seen in the Northwest territory; Father Richard had imported it from France.

The condition of the French race and the humane conduct of Father Richard after the war have already been mentioned. The condition of that portion of his flock resident along the upper lakes, has also been described; his call for missionaries was responded to, in time; these were prepared, taught to speak the Indian dialects and sent to evangelize the indigenous people and others in the lake regions.

In 1808 Paul Malcher donated a farm on the river bank about two miles above the site of old St. Anne, on which was built in 1809, a succursal chapel and school for the convenience of parishioners living in "la côte du nord." According to the custom of the country, this parish was organized with *marguilliers* or trustees. In 1817 a disagreement occurred between the latter and Father Richard.² The case was referred to Bishop Flaget who sustained his vicar and placed the succursal chapel at the "côte du nord" under interdict—in which state it remained until the following year, when the venerable Bishop came all the way from Bardstown, Ky., on horseback to Detroit in the interest of peace; his mission was successful.

To render the ceremony of the removal of the interdict impressive, a "grand procession" escorted the Bishop and Father Richard from St. Anne's to the succursal chapel, the distance being about three miles.

As a sign of the times, it may be stated, that the music of the regimental band added to the éclat of the ceremony, and as the procession passed the fort, it was saluted by a salvo of artillery.

¹ After the evacuation of the city by the British and their Indian allies, the occupants of the soil were threatened with famine, having been stripped of their movable possessions by the drunken savages.

Were it not for the assistance rendered by Father Richard, some of them would have starved, and others had no seed grain to plant until he procured it for them.

² This trouble resulted in open rebellion.

The occasion was one of general rejoicing, and an affecting reconciliation took place between the recalcitrants and their venerable pastor.¹

This event occurred June 11, 1818, and on the same day Bishop Flaget laid the corner-stone of the fifth church of St. Anne, which was completed in 1828. It was a large and imposing structure, dominating in size all other buildings in the city.

Missionary work in the lake regions was in the meantime vigorously conducted by Fathers Bellamy, Badin (Francis V.), and De Jean, under the direct supervision of Father Richard.

In 1823 he was elected representative of Michigan to Congress, serving one term only.²

The results of missionary work in the dependencies of Detroit may be seen in the account given by Bishop Fenwick, of Cincinnati, who made his episcopal visitations in 1827. "Among the Indian tribes visited, morality and fervent piety prevailed, where ignorance, superstition and debauchery had ruled." The happiest days of my life, writes the Bishop, "were spent among the Ottawa and Pottowatamie Indians."

Probably the greatest missionary work accomplished under the direction of any one priest in this country during the first three decades of this century, may be claimed for the Very Rev. Gabriel Richard. Certainly in no part of the United States was there a field so extensive, or so difficult of access as that confided to his care by the Metropolitans Carroll, Neale, Marechal and Whitfield, and under Bishops Flaget and Fenwick.

Nor were his merits unrecognized by the American Hierarchy, who sent his name to Rome as their choice for Detroit's first Bishop. But Father Richard was not destined to wear the mitre on the scene of his life-work. His apostolic career was to end in a manner becoming the devoted priest he had been all his sacerdotal life. When in 1832 the Asiatic cholera decimated the Catholic population of Detroit, Father Richard and his venerable assistant, Father Francis Vincent Badin, labored among the sick and dying day and night, until the plague had ceased its ravages.

Worn out with hardships, he fell, the last of the distinguished victims of that fatal year. He was stricken with the disease, and succumbed September 13, 1832.

He had been pastor of St. Anne's for thirty-four years, and had occupied a leading place in the history of events during that period, as a priest, as an educator, as a philanthropist, as a legislator, as an apostle of literature, as a citizen and as a patriot.

¹ See Bishop Spalding's *Life of Bishop Flaget*, pp. 182-87.

² For Father Richard's Congressional experience see paper read by Hon. T. A. E. Weadock, M.C., before U. S. Cath. His. Soc., New York, Feb., 1892.

Fifty years after the death of Father Richard, Bela Hubbard placed four statues on the massive façade of the city hall of Detroit. These sculptured images represent four great French Catholics, whom the city is proud to honor,—two zealous missionaries, Fathers James Marquette and Gabriel Richard, and two representatives of the genius and chivalry of Catholic France, Cavalier de la Salle and Antoine de la Mothe Cadillac.

RICHARD R. ELLIOTT.

WAS TENNYSON CONSISTENT? ¹

IN Lord Tennyson's career—remarkable on many accounts, but not the least so for its uncommon length and its continued productiveness down to the end—perhaps no one outward thing challenges us to reflection more than the fact that he was, from first to last, an object of puzzled surmise, a source of wonderment, and the unlooked for, to both the public and the critics. Glance at the few, the familiar facts, often retold, of his early literary history, that somehow never lose their strangeness and their curious interest. There is the circumstance, to begin with, that his first venture, "Poems By Two Brothers," the little poetic shallop, as we may say, in which he and his brother, Charles, embarked in 1827, and spread their light sails to catch a favoring breath from the Muses—that this first venture gained no recognition at all; and, what is worse, did not deserve recognition, since it gave no clear promise of the good which Alfred Tennyson was to achieve in his art. He was only eighteen years old then, and it is hardly surprising that his immature verses should have failed to impress readers with the same confidence in his latent power, which he himself, being a true poet, must have felt. Still, Bryant's "Thanatopsis," which has become a sort of classic, in America at least, was written by a lad even younger than the Alfred Tennyson of the "Two Brothers" period. What does appear strange is that the Englishman who was to become a worthy laureate and one of the most representative poets of his nation, should not have uttered in the dawn of his career, at least, a few notes which might now be

¹ *The Death of Ænone, Akbar's Dream, and Other Poems.* By Alfred Tennyson, Poet Laureate. Macmillan & Co.: New York and London.

recalled as a fit prelude of the sustained harmonies to which he afterward gave voice.

Then came his volumes of 1830 and 1832, which contained such wonderful poems as "The Deserted House," "Mariana," "Cenone," "The Miller's Daughter," "Lady Clara Vere de Vere," "The Lotos-Eaters" and "The May Queen" (since grown so popular). And here the peculiar thing is that, when the young bard had actually produced these short masterpieces, and had fairly earned recognition, the critics failed to perceive his merit and to bestow the due reward of praise, just as completely as though he had simply brought out two more books of crude verse. In the first instance he fell short of substantiating his claim to rank as a poet. In the second instance, they forfeited, by negligence, any claim they might have had to the rank of critics capable of discerning and doing justice to a new and great poet, on his merits. He laid his sterling performance before them. They did not perceive its quality, nor its capacity for winning a lasting fame. On the contrary, they greeted him with ridicule and sarcasm. It was not the critics who discovered Tennyson, or clearly saw him after he had discovered himself. Still less was it the critics who crowned him. The people—cultivated readers here and there, who did not set themselves up as professional judges, and general readers who, even if their culture was not complete, responded to natural, genuine feeling and to sincerely expressive art—these were they who discovered Tennyson; grew to love and revere his honesty and the beauty of his mind, and brought him the crown of laurel.

The people began to acknowledge him and generously to take delight in him after 1832. But, apparently warned by the coldness of the critics, he held himself in reserve for ten years; and when he once more entered the field in 1842, with another volume, he was well panoplied against all attack, whether venomous or merely obtuse. He came forward then with the "Morte d'Arthur," precursor of his "Idylls of the King," and with "St. Agnes," "Sir Galahad," "St. Simeon Stylites," "Godiva" and "Locksley Hall." The battle was ended by that book, which compelled the English-speaking world—including even the petty province of the critics—to admit that a new and commanding poet had taken his place among the great powers of imaginative literature. But, although the battle was ended, the campaign had only just begun, and Tennyson was evidently enlisted for life.

Five years afterwards, in 1847, he published "The Princess A Medley," and it was a medley that many persons did not understand. This vivid story in blank verse, with exquisite lyrics interspersed, dealt fancifully and picturesquely, yet in full vigor, with the relations of man and woman under modern conditions; bring-

ing out various intellectual and spiritual truths regarding it. Gradually it took hold on the hearts of the people; for the people saw that there was something earnest and vital in it; although some of the self-styled higher critical authorities still did not appreciate it. Three years later Tennyson was appointed Poet Laureate, to succeed Wordsworth, in 1850; and at the same time he published "In Memoriam," in one respect his greatest work, which—by a happy coincidence—won universal applause.

Yet when, five years subsequently, he issued "Maud," it was received unfavorably, a result as painful as unexpected to the author and his friends. "Maud" conquered for itself a widespread popularity afterwards. But, seeing the manner of its reception at that time, how many among the judges of literature could have predicted the result? Tennyson was now Poet Laureate, and his title to eminence in poetry, quite apart from the laureateship, was admitted on all sides. None the less, "Maud" seemed to be, in some way, a failure for the moment. It must have required fortitude on the author's part to persist in his chosen path. But he had gained the needed strength for persistence, by the long waiting of his probationary years, and the patience he had learned seems to be expressed in the poem called "Will," published in the same volume with "Maud:"

"O well for him whose will is strong!
He suffers, but he will not suffer long;
He suffers, but he cannot suffer wrong."

The "Idylls of the King," in 1859, made his fame secure apparently for a generation. Time, however, continued in its old habit of running on indifferently and strewing along the path, as it ran, fresh surprises and new disappointments; for example, when the world, having been charmed by the exquisite art, the romantic atmosphere and rich originality of those idylls, and having wondered sufficiently over them, began to question whether it was not a pity that they were simply idylls, instead of being an epic.

Tennyson, it is true, had never promised an epic, nor made any open attempt to produce one; and there was no good reason why he should be expected to. He had, in fact, done something much better; bringing to the public the unmatched gift of a series of stately poems on knightly and heroic themes from the half-mythical period of Arthur; narrative, but with flashes of dramatic fire in them, and of a style and mold new in English literature. "Enid," "Elaine," "Vivien," "Guinevere"—if any one, reading these, will turn to Sir Thomas Malory's quaint and various old prose romance, "Morte d'Arthur," wherein the germs of the stories are found, he will appreciate all the more the genius, the plastic power

and the vernal renewing of imagination with which Tennyson reshaped their outlines, filled them with reality, threw over their angular antiquity a delicate bloom of modern coloring and of love for nature, and spiritualized the tone and meaning of the whole. The same may be said of those additions which were made to complete the group: "The Coming of Arthur," "Pelleas," "The Holy Grail," and so on. But a conventional notion flashed lightly in sundry minds not over deep, that there ought to be a new and great English epic; and so they were inclined to murmur because they had not got it from Tennyson.

Enviers and imitators had arisen also. A trivial fashion came into vogue, of blindly ridiculing everything that he wrote in his capacity of poet to the court, or of burlesquing and even assailing with hasty detraction many of his new poems, as they came out here and there, or the volumes in which he gathered them afterwards. We do not know how far Tennyson was affected by such things; but it is certain that he seldom made any approach to explaining himself or his work to the public by preface or notes; and it was not until he published "The Window; or, Songs of the Wrens," in 1867, after the period of detraction began, that he allowed himself a few words of personal expression. The "Songs of the Wrens" had been written four years earlier, for Arthur Sullivan to set to music. This piece of work Tennyson spoke of in a brief introductory note as "a puppet whose almost only merit is, perhaps, that it can dance to Mr. Sullivan's instrument. I am sorry that my four-year-old puppet should have to dance at all in the dark shadow of these days." In these words there is a tone of despondency hard to account for as coming from the victorious Laureate, maker of poems known all around the world, unless he really was feeling the sting of gnats and the fickleness of the public.

Nevertheless, Tennyson went forward upon his own road, bringing forth in 1869, "The Holy Grail," and in 1872, "Gareth and Lynette." In 1875, however, he astonished everybody by publishing a drama, "Queen Mary," which he followed up with another called "Harold," and later with "Becket." He had won renown as a great lyrist. More than that, his

"Break, break, break
On thy cold gray stones, O sea,"

and his bugle song in "The Princess:"

"The splendor falls on castle walls
And hoary summits old in story,"

with many others of like quality, had long before passed into the

popular consciousness and found a firm abiding-place there. He had also been recognized as a great idyllist. But now, suddenly, he appeared as a writer of plays; an event quite unexpected and, as we may say, unprecedented, when we consider that this first composition of his in dramatic form dates from his sixty-sixth year. All his efforts in this direction were received with more or less of doubt and cavil. Still he persisted. A one-act piece of his, "The Cup and the Falcon," was performed by Henry Irving, with the result of only a nominal artistic success. Another play, "The Promise of May," which aimed to convey a moral lesson against atheism and socialism, was performed and published later on: but, unfortunately, its workmanship did not convince any one that Tennyson was a master of the stage, or even knew how to put teaching effectively in written drama. Yet, in his last years, he produced "The Foresters," founded on legends of Robin Hood—a light, semi-lyrical acting play which deservedly gained popular appreciation, as well as praise for its touches of high poetic merit.

That Tennyson did not really approve himself a commanding playwright may be frankly confessed; and it should be so confessed without demur. Yet it is equally true that he did achieve at least a considerable *literary* success, though not a triumph, in the dramatic field, against odds of a certain natural disqualification for play-writing and of much deprecatory or even supercilious comment from without.

He was, above all, lyrical and narrative, by the prompting of nature. His perception of the dramatic quality, his ability to handle it, were the result of study and labor. The texture of his plays is hard and too often dry. There is absolutely nothing original in their conception or form; they are too closely patterned after old models, and one of the author's controlling ideas of play construction seems to be that so soon as he has outlined a good "situation" or got the action of the piece well under way, he must have one of his characters enter or sit down and sing a charming little lyric—sentimental, playful or pathetic—thereby interrupting the whole movement of the story. Still, if there is a lack of originality in the form and scope of these play-pieces, there is much that is excellent, original and striking in the lines they contain, and the scattered lyrics impart a freshness, a vivacity, with which the dialogue itself is somewhat meagrely endowed.

The choice of Queen Mary as the theme of his first endeavor, was not altogether fortunate; or perhaps we should say that his treatment of it was not fully comprehensive, therefore not well advised. He had an episode of religious conflict, of statecraft, of rival personal interests to deal with, through which ran the sad experience of Mary—true to faith and true to Philip, yet half dis-

tracted by the failure of her hopes of marital happiness ; torn by impulsive, passionate, feminine moods, and constantly roused to fresh excitement by the war of parties and persons around her ;—a heroine abounding in pathos, full of emotional power and high aspirations. Yet although he evidently makes an effort to bring out these points, the picture is harsh and crude.

Tennyson produces little more than the conventional "Bloody Mary" of the Protestants, with a penumbra of womanly traits surrounding her, to make her more real and excite something of pity for her, though perhaps more of condemnation. Choosing this theme for his initial dramatic work, he should have remembered that executions for religious belief were more numerous under Elizabeth than under Mary, and that Elizabeth died wretchedly, quite as unhappy as poor Mary, and without the consolation of faith that Mary had. It would have been wise, therefore, and would have been true poetic justice to present a companion piece setting forth Elizabeth's career, her struggles and sorrows, her persecution of Catholics and her forlorn ending of life. As it is, Elizabeth is introduced in the usual way as a sort of shining contrast, the coming maiden queen whose reign is to be pretty nearly all happiness and greatness for England ; and no hint is given of the miseries, the wrongs, the tyrannies of her rule. Still it must be said that the poet shows a desire to hold the balance even, since he allows Lord Paget to say of Henry VIII. :

"for since Henry for a doubt—
Which a young lust had clapped upon the back,
Crying, 'Forward!'—set our old church rocking, men
Have hardly known what to believe, or whether
They should believe in anything ; the currents
So shift and change, they see not how they are borne,
Nor whither. I conclude the King a beast ;
Verily a lion if you will—the world
A most obedient beast and fool—myself
Half beast and fool as appertaining to it."

So, too, when the Parliament is represented as once more affirming its loyalty to the Holy See and begging to be received again into the bosom of the Universal Church, Tennyson gives to Cardinal Pole these words :

"This is the loveliest day that ever smiled
On England. All her breath should, incense like,
Rise to the heavens in grateful praise of Him
Who now recalls her to her ancient fold.
Lo, once again God to this realm hath given
A token of his more especial Grace ;
For as this people were the first of all

The islands call'd into the dawning church
Out of the dead, deep night of heathendom,
So now are these the first whom God hath given
Grace to repent and sorrow for their schism."

And, near the close, Mary, about to die, exclaims :

"O Saint of Aragon, with that sweet worn smile
Among thy patient wrinkles—help me hence!"

On the other hand, showing his want of comprehension, Tennyson represents Cardinal Pole as greeting Queen Mary with the sacred words *Ave Maria, gratia plena, benedicta tu inter mulieribus*, and Queen Mary replying as though it were a fit and natural compliment addressed to *herself*:

"Loyal and royal cousin, humblest thanks,"

It is to be noticed, also, that in coming to the event of Mary's death, he merely causes a priest bearing a crucifix to pass across the stage toward the room into which she has gone. The reception of the last sacraments certainly could not be depicted on the stage; but something more than the mere dumb passing of the priest should have been offered as a suggestion of the solemnity of final consecration. In failing to convex the seriousness, the abiding faith, the sublime hope of that last hour, Tennyson was guilty of missing a fine poetic point, as well as of character interpretation and of highest truth.

Then, after Mary's death, Elizabeth says :

"I left her lying still and beautiful,
More beautiful than in life. Why would you vex yourself,
Poor sister?"

This, though perhaps in character for Elizabeth, is somewhat chilly comment. "Why would you vex yourself?" Why, indeed, except that Mary was faithful, intense and earnest. She was true to her faith and true to her husband. Her husband forsook her and she saw the true faith imperilled in England by conspiracy and unbelief, and the fact that Elizabeth would succeed to the throne since Mary herself had no son. Well, all this might seem a matter of indifference to Elizabeth, who cared nothing for religious faith, was willing to modify the same according to political needs, and apparently thought that the deepest disappointment of a royal wife's heart was no sufficient cause for even "vexation." Just here was the difference between the two royal half-sisters, Mary and Elizabeth, and here was Tennyson's opportunity to make a magnificent dramatic contrast of character, of thought, of senti-

ment and to end his play with some great ideal climax. Instead of that, he made Elizabeth admit :

“Sir, I swear *I have no heart*
To be your Queen,”

which was very likely true; and then, after consenting to rule, modestly, but cautiously, declare that

“if our *person* be secured
From *traitor's stabs*, we will make England great.”

Thereupon various lords enter with acclaim and Sir Ralph Bagen hall cries out :

“God save the Crown : the Papacy is no more.”
Paget (aside).—Are we so sure of that ?
Acclamation.—God save the Queen !

And so the piece ends. Essentially, there is nothing to it. It is a sheet torn out of a book, with no clear indication of what went before or what came after. Mary had a heart, and shows it in the course of the mournful complication of her life. She had a heart to love, to believe and to rule. Elizabeth says coldly : “I have no heart to be your Queen ;” but she takes the queenship just the same, and wonders why her dead sister should have worried about such trifles. Then one man hurrahs that “the Papacy is no more,” while another man doubts the correctness of that conclusion, and there is a general chorus of “God save the Queen.” It is one of the feeblest climaxes ever tacked on to a composition cast in the dramatic mold.

What indeed are we to infer from it? A dramatist need not take sides; he need not argue, and there is no obligation upon him to make his play a polemic. But at least he should know what his aim is poetically; he should make this clear; he should carry his readers, or his hearers, along so that in the end they will be possessed of some definite impression, sentiment, or idea. Tennyson does not do this. The only conclusion we can arrive at after reading “Queen Mary” is that the Papacy may be dead, or it may not be dead; that Mary’s warmth of love and faith may have been a mistake, and that perhaps Elizabeth’s coldness of heart and indifference will make England great, if only Elizabeth’s person is spared from stabs. If the *person*, in the sense of the body, is secure, the heart and the devotion to Christian faith are apparently matters of no great import, and, most of all, the maxim that is to rule existence is “God save the Queen,” especially when the queen happens to be anti-Catholic. We do not think that Tennyson deliberately intended all this; but this is the

actual result when we analyze his work. Attempting to be painfully impartial, he ended by being indeterminate. Yet with his indeterminateness there was mingled a mass of Church of England prejudice, which easily rose up and clouded the liquid of his verse, like a sediment disturbed by the slightest motion.

In "Harold," which is an historical study of an earlier period, he gave expression to his always intense English national feeling, and sought to deduce a moral from the defeat of Harold following upon his broken oath and his other sins. But it is not an effective play, nor a very impressive one. A lack of deep and clear conviction in the writer himself seems to weaken and almost to annul the force of the ideas he would present, the emotions he would arouse. "Becket" is perhaps the most interesting of his dramatic works, though meant only for reading, not acting. But here also, as might be guessed from the curt title—"Becket"—by which he means St. Thomas, of Canterbury (Thomas à Becket), he presents only the secular, superficial view. His portrayal of this great and sainted martyr, who under the Second Henry passed from the high worldly office of Lord Chancellor of England to become Archbishop of Canterbury, is merely a sketch from historical documents, without insight into the supreme and ardent spiritual life of the prelate-hero. The vehemence, the tendency to impulsiveness of Saint Thomas, the occasional recurrence in this ascetic, gentle and charitable Archbishop of the powerful natural will, and of his sturdy strength of muscle as well as of brain, are all indicated; but this is done with such abruptness and crudity, and with such absence of a pervading and comprehensive spiritual atmosphere, that the picture seems harsh and inconsistent.

Apparently Tennyson wished to be graphic, to be true to facts, and to present the subject from all sides even-mindedly, but his art, and above all, his inability to understand the soul of a man like St. Thomas of Canterbury, was not equal to the problem. Still, in places, his studious effort avails to help him interpret his hero with some degree of adequacy, as in the following speech, where St. Thomas, after a talk with Walter Map on his (the Archbishop's) resistance to King Henry's oppressions and extortions toward the Church, speaks to his bosom friend Herbert of Bosham. It should be borne in mind that Thomas à Becket and King Henry II., had once been close friends, although the former's pure character had always made sharp contrast with the King's looseness, and that he sacrificed Henry's friendship to his fidelity to the Church, of which he had become the Primate in England; a sacrifice all the greater because it cost him so much personal regret. And now the Archbishop says, alluding to the attack of the king's so-called "customs" against the spiritual supremacy and material support of the Church:

"No!—to die for it—
 I live to die for it, I die to live for it.
 The State will die, the Church can never die.
 The King's not like to die for that which dies;
 But I must die for that which never dies.
 It will be so—my visions in the Lord:
 It must be so, my friend! The wolves of England
Must murder her one shepherd, that the sheep
May feed in peace. False figure, Map would say.
Earth's falses are heaven's truths."

Yet, in the thrilling death-scene, where Henry's hireling knights break into the cathedral and murder the Saint at the altar's foot, the author weakly omits St. Thomas's dying words, "For the name of Jesus and the defence of His Church I am ready to die." And although as a matter of history, Henry, six months after the martyrdom, submitted to be scourged publicly at the Saint's shrine, and restored to the Church her full rights, Tennyson breathes no word or hint of this, but ends the piece with the murderers hurrying away remorseless from the sanctuary; a lame and insignificant conclusion that robs the work of all dramatic, historic or moral and religious point.

So much for these attempts in which, after all has been said, he does not appear to the best advantage. Meanwhile, writing also in his usual vein, he poured forth rapidly several volumes of songs, ballads and stories in verse; this, too, during the closing twelve years of his life. It is a fact worth observing that he published more things and a greater variety, after he was half a century old, than in the whole of his career before that age. The "Idylls of the King" appeared only after he was fifty; and during the remaining thirty-three years allotted to him he issued fourteen volumes more; that is, nearly a volume for each two years. Now, too, there comes into our hands a book which he had prepared for the press in his last days, "The Death of C  none, Akbar's Dream and Other Poems," which he did not live to see published.

The fact about this book to which we would ask attention especially is that it shows Tennyson, in his latest hours of literary production, true to his youthful ideals in poetry and in poetic thought. For, to our mind, he was not really a philosopher, but first and always a poet, who did a good deal of philosophic thinking, yet in the artistic, emotional way only, and without ever arriving at coherent, final principles. We find Tennyson, though, in this book completed at eighty-three, as fresh in feeling when taken upon his own best ground, as quick in observation and as daintily vigorous in the interpreting of moods, as he was during his prime between the ages of thirty and sixty. The dedicatory poem, for instance, evidently addressed to Lady Tennyson, his

wife, faithful and sympathetic in old age as in youth, is called "June Bracken and Heather," and is redolent of that charming, unspoiled simplicity which characterized many of his minor poems, all the way through his life. This bit of verse runs thus:

"There on the top of the down,
The wild heather round me and over me June's high blue,
When I looked at the bracken so bright and the heather so brown,
I thought to myself I would offer this book to you,
This, and my love together,
To you that are seventy-seven,
With a faith as clear as the heights of the June-blue heaven,
And a fancy as summer-new
As the green of the bracken amid the gloom of the heather."

Here then is a poet, verging close upon a century of human existence, who makes to the partner of his life this offering of a tender love-thought clothed in exquisite word and rhythm, as sweet as though it were a wild flower plucked by a child. How it carries us back to that dignified yet tender dedication which he wrote to her many years ago:

"Dear, near and true—no truer Time himself
Can prove you, tho' he make you evermore
Dearer and nearer, as the rapid of life
Shoots to the fall—take this, and pray that he
Who wrote it, honoring your sweet faith in him,
May trust himself; *and spite of praise and scorn,*
As one who feels the immeasurable world,
Attain the wise indifference of the wise;
And after autumn past—if left to pass
His autumn into seeming leafless days—
Draw toward the long frost and the longest night,
Wearing his wisdom lightly, like the fruit
Which in our winter woodland looks a flower."¹

It is to be noted that, in these two poetic leaflets inscribed to his wife, the mold of the thought is the same, the choice of imagery from nature the same. In one he likens her surviving youth and freshness in age to the bright green bracken amid faded heather; in the other he hopes that if he live long, it may be with some resemblance to a flower-like fruit lingering in the leafless woods. The similiarity of the two pieces, published nearly twenty-eight years apart, is typical of Tennyson's constancy to certain ideas and chords of sentiment as well as to a few favorite modes of expressing them. In both cases, also, he speaks of faith: first, his wife's "sweet faith in him," to which he looks for support against the injurious effects alike of praise and scorn; and afterwards more generally of her "faith as clear as the heights of the June-blue

¹ The fruit of the spindle-tree, *Enonymus*.

heaven." This likewise is typical. He uses great words with much positiveness, but also with great vagueness. What does he, in this second instance, mean by "faith?" There is nothing to show that he meant more than a general serene and happy trust in God. And if we look elsewhere in his works for some definition of the sense in which he employed this word, or some sidelight of illumination, it is hard to find it.

It is true that "In Memoriam," which, as I have already hinted, may be accounted in some respects his greatest performance, is suffused and saturated with religious feeling; but it is the religion simply of a virtuous and pious mind, in struggle with death, loss and suffering; carrying on a war with its own doubts, but relying chiefly on its own innate power to wrestle with the enemy and to escape from the ambushade in which it has been ensnared. Brother Azarias, in his "Phases of Thought and Criticism," has made the most searching analysis of this poem with which we are acquainted; a much more penetrating one than that of Dr. John F. Genung which preceded it, inasmuch as the religious faith and knowledge and the critical insight of Brother Azarias are profounder and more comprehensive; and in that analysis he gives the laureate credit for reaching, through his honest and prayerful struggles, a solution in accord with complete Christian faith. In accord it may be, so far as it goes. Yet we may be pardoned for thinking that Brother Azarias out of his own abundant charity, and with that generosity which leads a well disposed critic of literature to give to a fine work of art the largest recognition and the utmost meed of merit, rather than err by underrating it, has lent to Tennyson's credit that which he himself sees and feels, but Tennyson did not fully grasp, though he came near doing so. True it is again that in one of the most stirring of the "In Memoriam" swallow-flights of song (cvi.) beginning:

"Ring out wild bells to the wild sky,"

the poet reaches this climax:

"Ring out the thousand wars of old,
Ring in the thousand years of peace.
Ring in the valiant man and free,
The larger heart, the kindlier hand;
Ring out the darkness of the land,
Ring in the Christ that is to be."

But, notwithstanding the reverence for Christ evidenced here and in other passages, we should tremble for the security of Tennyson's belief and the claim of his faith to any satisfactory coherence, if we once set out to probe him logically and impartially. At the end he makes invocation to the "living will:"

"That we may, lift from out of dust
A voice as unto him that hears,
A cry above the conquered years
To one that works with us, and trust,
With faith that comes of self-control,
The truths that never can be proved
Until we close with all we loved,
And all we flow from, soul to soul."

But even here we are forced to observe his voluntary limit-line. He speaks only of a "faith that comes of self-control;" still centering on self alone, though in a good sense and with a celestially aspiring aim. Between this summation and a vital realizing of Christian truth in its entirety there is a wide gap. We do not discover that he anywhere filled up or bridged it. So, too, in the early poem of "Morte D'Arthur" occurs that speech of the dying king, which is almost as often cited as it is widely known:

"Pray for my soul. More things are wrought by prayer
Than this world dreams of. Wherefore let thy voice
Rise like a fountain for me night and day.
For what are men better than sheep or goats
That nourish a blind life within the brain,
If, knowing God, they lift not hands of prayer
Both for themselves and those who called them friends?
For so the whole round earth is every way
Bound by gold chains about the feet of God."

But although this is beautiful and true as an expression of the doctrine of prayer, and although a conviction of the value of praying for the departed reappears in later poems, it does not transpire that the poet ever brought this into a logical relation with other essentials of faith in a perfect, solid, yet flexible and animate whole of Christianity. The utterance that he so fitly assigns to Arthur falls under some suspicion of being merely "spoken in character," as one says of stage personages, though the suspicion is not quite just.

It would seem also unnecessarily harsh and unjust to cast any shadow of that kind upon the exquisite purity of the nun's devout yearning in "St. Agnes's Eve," or the strong, clean, manly virtue infused into that other vigorous monody of the "maiden knight" Sir Galahad, as he sings of his quest for the Holy Grail. Yet in some degree these are sympathetic interpretations, rather than an outgrowth of the poet's own faith. He had a pure mind, an extraordinary quickness of apprehension, a responsiveness that easily translated into verbal music his impressions of the beautiful in religion as well as in nature. And it is no fault of his that he could, by these means, depict the pagan and very human sorrows of pagan Cœnone, or the sturdy and matured stoicism of Ulysses, and the

story of Demeter, with the same strength and loveliness that he imparted to the holy nun or to Sir Galahad. Still we must, in honesty, discriminate between that which a poet believes with his whole heart and soul, and that which he accepts only in part; adapting it from the belief of others, transposing its relations to suit himself. Now Tennyson, notwithstanding all that he says about faith, long since declared that

"There lives more faith in honest doubt,
Believe me, than in half the creeds."

And as Brother Azarias has pointed out, his "Ancient Sage," (published only a few years ago) gives this counsel:

"Wherefore thou be wise,
Cleave ever to the sunnier side of doubt,
And cling to Faith beyond the forms of Faith."

This "faith beyond the forms of faith" is perilously like "the wise indifference of the wise" in that dedication of "Enoch Arden," which we have quoted in a previous paragraph. The wise may well be indifferent to the praise or blame of the world, but it is by no means so safe to tell a man that to be wise in religion he must hold to faith without its forms. That would mean disintegration of the man, as well as (if such a thing were possible) disintegration of the Church. Yet it would seem, on candid scrutiny, that Tennyson really did not perceive the difference between the two situations. He thought one could find an individual, independent centre in matters of faith, precisely as one can in dealing personally with the world. In this respect he reminds us of his own "Merlin and the Gleam;" the wizard Merlin following incessantly a "gleam"—that is, the truth—which is always just beyond him. Merlin, old and weary yet still pressing on after that fleeing light, says:

"I saw whenever
In passing it glanced upon
Hamlet or city,
That *under the Crosses*
The dead man's garden—
The mortal hillock—
Would break into blossom."

And, when the gleam reached the land's end,—

"There on the border
Of boundless ocean,
All but in Heaven
Hovers the Gleam."*

* *Demeter and other Poems.* 1889.

Tennyson also sees the place and the power of the Cross in the universal scheme of things; but the actual Cross is never firmly planted in his heart, the illumination of the supernal truth is never completely present to him here, but always hovering somewhere out of reach, past the land's limit. This is made manifest once more in his "Crossing the Bar," somewhat famous as his only attempt at a hymn, and even as such, written only in response to a request.

"Sunset and evening star,
And one clear call for me!
And may there be no moaning of the bar
When I put out to sea!

* * * * *

Twilight and evening bell,
And after that the dark!
And may there be no sadness of farewell,
When I embark;
For tho' from out our bourne of Time and Place
The flood may bear me far,
I hope to see my Pilot face to face
When I have crost the bar."

Here there is something almost pagan, if not quite so. "And after that the dark!" At the best it is not faith which is expressed, but only a hope, muffled by an undertone of gloom akin to despondency. How different the whole spirit from that of Cardinal Newman's "Lead, Kindly Light," which is all aglow and pulsing with buoyant faith, vigor and enthusiasm that could not die!

Finally, in the volume now before us—the wreath of poetic flowers which, we may say, his own hand wove to be laid upon his grave—we have several pieces that exemplify the Laureate's various tendencies with undiminished emphasis, and with singularly little change from the tone or direction of his earlier work. "The Death of Ænone" brings with it all the misty charm and delicate detail of his other subjects from Greek tradition, such as "Tithonus," "Demeter," and the superb "Tiresias." "St. Telemachus" renews the broken series of medallion-like pictures from Christian history. Then we have "The Church Warden and the Curate," a bit of satirical homily, grotesque in dialect, recalling the "Northern Farmer;" and, in "The Dawn," and "The Making of Man," a reminder of that life-long grappling with problems of the sensible universe which was manifested some years ago in his curious and powerful meditation entitled "Vastness." Here, too, we find:

" A voice spake out of the skies
 To a just man and a wise—
 ' The world and all within in it
 Will only last a minute !'
 And a beggar began to cry
 ' Food, food or I die !'
 Is it worth his while to eat,
 Or mine to give him meat,
 If the world and all within it
 Were nothing the next minute ? "

This, which is one of the whims or fancies of genius, makes us remember that there was a vein of simplicity in Tennyson that sometimes degenerated into silliness, as in those prosaic New Year verses of 1865-66 :

" I stood on a tower in the wet,
 And New Year and Old Year met,
 And winds were roaring and blowing,
 And I said, ' O years that meet in tears,
 Have ye aught that is worth the knowing ? ' "

Not even a writer of genius, if he were controlled by profound and concentric principles of faith and perception, would ask such an idle question of the years, or inquire whether it were worth while for the beggar to wish to eat and the rich to give alms, at the ending of the world. The fact that Tennyson, who *was* a genius, saw fit to record these errant little speculations goes far toward showing that his mind was by no means firmly rooted in the depths of spiritual knowledge. Yet the frankness with which he rippled out such random notes, as they chanced to come to his lips, often lent to his love-songs, his short lyrics and bursts of sentiment a natural and spontaneous quality which was very winning, as in the fond exaggeration of that blank verse song in " The Princess : "

" O swallow, swallow, if I could follow and light
 Upon her lattice, I would pipe and trill,
 And cheep and twitter twenty million loves. "

We must take him with his faults and merits, his weaknesses and his strength. Doubt may well be entertained as to whether he is strong in " Akbar's Dream," where he sets forth elaborately the endeavor made by the great Mongol emperor, Akbar, in the sixteenth century, who had been somewhat impressed by the Jesuit missionaries of the Indies, to " invent a new eclectic religion, by which he hoped to unite all creeds, castes and peoples." This religion he called " the Divine Faith," and although he partially established it in his lifetime, it crumbled away and disappeared immediately after his death, as might surely have been ex-

pected. Tennyson, however, dwells upon this theme, and appends to the poem the most minute and copious notes that he ever bestowed on any of his works; the inevitable impression being that he regretted the failure of poor Akbar's scheme, and that the idea of reconstituting such a "Divine Faith" of eclecticism at some time in the future of mankind haunted the Laureate of England with a peculiar fascination.

But there are three poems in this latest book which are especially suggestive, interesting and instructive with regard to his attitude toward religion. These are "Faith," "God and the Universe," and "Doubt and Prayer." Their brevity admits of our quoting them here :

FAITH.

I.

Doubt no longer that the Highest is the wisest and the best,
Let not all that saddens Nature blight thy hope or break thy rest;
Quail not at the fiery mountain, at the shipwreck, or the rolling
Thunder, or the rending earthquake, or the famine, or the pest!

II.

Neither mourn if human creeds be lower than the heart's desire!
Thro' the gates that bar the distance comes a gleam of what is higher.
Wait till death has flung them open, when the man will make the Maker,
Dark no more with human hatreds in the glare of deathless fire!

This, a distinct and final declaration under the head of "faith," leaves nothing to be determined as to what the word signified for him. Here again we have the "gleam;" only a gleam, no revelation, no certainty. And of course if a mere gleam be our sole guide, then all professions of faith are nothing more than "human creeds," as he says in the previous lines,—creeds bereft of the divine, and therefore lower than "the heart's desire." For the clean in heart are blessed, and they shall see God. Even when they fail to find true faith, or to recognize God in the creed—and fancy it to be merely human—their hearts at least still *seek* after God. Tennyson, thus failing, makes his ultimatum in saying that we must wait till death has flung open the gates, before we can know our Maker. And it is plain from his final line, where he purposes to do away with "the glare of deathless fires," that he has so readjusted his belief as to abolish hell. With no firm or tangible clue to the Divine; with no clear sense of the Actual Presence here in the Church, and of immediate, constant and vital communion with God through it; with but a gleam for beacon, or, as he phrases it in another darksome little song,

"the starry track
Glimmering up the heights beyond me;"

and with an individual, private judgment that conveniently elimi-

nates future punishment from the scheme of things, it must be confessed that Tennyson's Christianity, if it deserved to be called such, had sadly fallen away from all firm standards. An atheist he evidently was not, nor would it be quite true or fair to call him an agnostic. At least he was not consciously one, and would probably have spurned the imputation indignantly. Yet how nearly his vagueness—that inconclusive mood which we have also noticed in his dramas—brought him to a kind of agnosticism, may be seen from the following poem in this posthumous volume :

GOD AND THE UNIVERSE.

Will my spark of being wholly vanish in your deeps and heights ?
Must my day be dark by reason, O ye Heavens, of your boundless nights,
Rush of suns, and roll of systems, and your fiery clash of meteorites ?
" Spirit, nearing yon dark portal at the limit of thy human state,
Fear not thou the hidden purpose of that Power which alone is great,
Nor the myriad world, His shadow, nor the silent Opener of the Gate."

Always generalities, paraphrases of Christian truth—a curious evasion of self-committal to the exact and unalterable points of Christian facts and doctrine—and an insensible merging of the soul in a whirl of æonian matter! So long ago as in 1869, he gave utterance to much the same feeling, in "The Higher Pantheism:"

"The sun, the moon, the stars, the seas, the hills and the plains—
Are not these, O Soul, the Vision of Him who reigns ?
* * * * *
Glory about thee, without thee; and thou fulfillest thy doom,
Making him broken gleams, and a stifled splendor and gloom.
* * * * *
And the ear of man cannot hear, and the eye of man cannot see;
But if we could see and hear, this Vision—were it not He?"

The third of those latest significant poems to which reference has been made is a sonnet called "Doubt and Prayer," which—were it not for the disclosures made in his other pieces—we might almost suppose to have been written by a Catholic, in temptation, with his eyes fixed on the goal of final perseverance:

"Tho' Sin too oft, when smitten by Thy rod,
Rail at 'Blind Fate' with many a vain 'Alas !'
From sin thro' sorrow into Thee we pass
By that same path our true forefathers trod ;
And let not reason fail me, nor the sod
Draw from my death Thy living flower and grass,
Before I learn that love, which is, and was
My Father and my Brother and my God !
Steel me with patience, soften me with grief !
Let blow the trumpet strongly while I pray,
Till this embattled wall of unbelief
My prison—not my fortress—fall away !
Then, if Thou wilt, let my day be brief,
So Thou wilt strike Thy glory thro' the day."

Assuredly an impassioned devoutness breathes through all that strain. The tone his mind could take toward an actual and undoubted Catholic was manifested some years ago in his noble memorial lines to the late W. G. Ward :

“Farewell, *whose like on earth I shall not find,*
Whose Faith and Work were bells of full accord,
My friend, *the most unworldly of mankind,*
Most generous of Ultramontanes, Ward,
How subtle at tierce and quart of mind with mind,
How loyal in the following of thy Lord!”

How strange it is that such a man, capable of this perception and of writing a sonnet like the “Doubt and Prayer,” should still at the farthest confine of a long life, hover along the verge of a “higher pantheism,” or agnosticism, even as in his verses “To Mary Boyle” (1889), he lagged inertly upon the threshold of truth, saying to her :

“What use to brood? This life of mingled pains
And joys, to me,
Despite of every Faith and creed remains
The mystery.”

This fact counts another item in the long list of Tennysonian surprises. Are we then to say that he was inconsistent? In one sense, judging him from the highest, the Christian point of view and as a thinker—yes. But, in another sense, no; for he was at least consistent with himself as a poet, and true to his artistic ideals, so far as they went. There is in his latest writings a recrudescence of all the elements and impulses that moved within him earlier. His power of expression did not weaken; on the contrary, it was in some respects clarified, strengthened and ennobled as he grew to old age. But his attitude did not change in any essential. He increased in mental stature, but hardly in vision. The old hesitations, doubts, uncertainties of reflection that were present in “The Two Voices,” and “In Memoriam”—the alternations of uneasy speculation with sudden bursts of faith and devoutness—reappear in his work to the end. He never attained to a clear solution, a perfect faith; and to some extent the din of materialism, the dizzying fumes of chemistry, the vaporous theories of modern natural science when it insists on diffusing itself far beyond the province of its facts, and even juggles with the facts themselves—all this overcame him and threw him into greater confusion, during his later years, than in the period of his prime. He turned upon himself as a lyrist, and produced dramas, but still he was the same man in his plays as in his songs and stories, and arrived at nothing more than he had reached before. He supplemented the

youthful idealistic and republican enthusiasm of "Locksley Hall," with a conservative criticism and rebuke in "Locksley Hall Sixty Years After."

Yet the idealism of the later "Locksley Hall" was the same as that of the first, only he approached his theme from the opposite pole of social experience, and admonished the young generation now, as he had formerly castigated the old, winding up with a courageous cry:

"Follow you the star that lights a desert pathway, yours or mine.
Forward, till you see the highest human nature is divine.
Follow the Light, and do the Right—for man can half control his doom—
Till you find the deathless Angel seated in the vacant tomb."

That is all very well in a way, though as to the divinity of human nature, decidedly latitudinarian, Unitarian or Universalist;—at any rate something which is not purely Christian. And why should he here harp again on man's "doom" (as also in "The Higher Pantheism"), instead of turning to his salvation? The course of his thought is the same all the way through: it turns upon self, upon man in a groping state and upon his own unaided human power of finding an outlet through darkness—for what? Only to encounter and be merged in another obscurity, beyond this mundane existence:

"Twilight and evening bell
And after that the dark!"—

with some expectation of meeting the Pilot *then*, though we cannot meet Him now. A sad and strange, procrastinating philosophy, tinged with a strong desire to make itself Christian!

The death of Tennyson has been publicly described and much written about as a most "gloriously beautiful" one. But so far as we can gather from all accounts and laudations of it, the death-scene was beautiful only in a picturesque, earthly way. The calm serenity, the last conscious action of calling for a copy of Shakespeare's "Cymbeline," which the poet opened at an appropriate page containing the dirge; the flooding moonlight; the autumn leaves and flowers strewn over his mute body the next day;—the utter absence of any profession of faith, or sacrament, or even symbol of Christianity;—all this was entirely suitable to the last hours and death of a virtuous pagan. But, if regarded as the surrounding to the death of a poet supposed to be Christian, it was unfit, cold, and desolate; not beautiful.

Tennyson's single-minded conscientiousness in his art, his fidelity to the best that was in him poetically, give him a great value to readers of literature and lovers of that which is beautiful in it. Nothing like justice has been done by the world in general to the

abundance, the merit and the variety of his productions during the declining decades of his wonderful career; the grace and sweetness of his nature-studies, the vigor and spirit of his martial or naval ballads, the force and inventiveness of his half-lyrical tales in verse, full of character-suggestion and the play of passion. Upon these it was our intention to dwell more at length in this article, but the limitations of space will not permit us to do so. A large proportion of that which he has left us will remain a source of delight and a subject of interesting study for a long time to come. But we cannot read or study him with genuine profit unless we realize the curious paradox embodied in his life and works.

This paradox is as follows: People accused him of inconsistency in his poetic career, and even derided him for it. But, as a matter of fact, he was entirely consistent poetically, to even an exceptional degree—remaining the same at last as he was at the beginning—a truth which we have tried to make clear in this brief review. On the other hand, great numbers of people and critics (supposing these to be two separate and alien bodies) have praised him unstintedly for consistency in Christianity, and this—as we think the extracts we have cited sufficiently prove—is precisely where he was *inconsistent*; since, being so largely imbued with the thought, the feeling and conviction of a Christian, he missed becoming wholly one, and drifted toward the vagueness of an eclectic and agnostic religion.

He appears to have become spell-bound by the magic of his own power over language, color, imagery and to have been held there helpless in a land of poetic enchantment which, to the last, prevented him from grasping the supreme reality that he perceived ahead of him as an unattainable, distant light. In reading Tennyson, therefore, it is well to guard against being veiled and fettered by the same impalpable yet clinging mist of soft, meditative, poetic loveliness, which gradually blurs and blots the clear outlines of things, then confuses the traveller's eye and brain, and finally overpowers him with drowsy and moveless languor.

GEORGE PARSONS LATHROP.

MEDIÆVAL UNIVERSITY LIFE.

1. *Die Entstehung der Universitäten des Mittelalters bis 1400.* Von P. Heinrich Denifle, aus dem Predigerorden, Unterarchivar des Hl. Stuhles. Berlin. 1885.
2. *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement dans l'Université de Paris au Moyen Age.* Par Charles Thurot. Paris. 1850.
3. *Essai sur l'Organisation des Etudes dans l'Ordre des Frères Prêcheurs au XIIIème et au XIVème Siècle (1216-1342).* Par G. Douais. Paris. 1884.
4. *Monumenta Franciscana.* 2 vols. Rolls Series. Vol. i. edited by J. S. Brewer, London, 1858; vol. ii. edited by Richard Howlett, 1882.

FATHER Denifle's book on the origins of the universities is epoch-making. The learned Dominican, as sub-archivist of the Vatican library, has utilized to their full extent the rare and exceptional advantages at his disposal. To the extensive materials that lay at his hand he brought to bear vast learning and marvellous patience. No document seems to have escaped him; he allows nothing in the document that he handles to pass unchallenged. He has an eye for the most minute details. Indeed, it is in grasping the whole meaning of a phrase or sentence that he has been enabled to correct so many illusions in which the historians of all our universities have been living. His method is purely analytical. He leaves very little to inference. He makes no statement that is not based on a document, or that is not backed up by ample proof. His familiarity with the literature of the subject of universities in all its details enables him to go behind the polish of the sentence and lay finger upon the very text that the author had in mind when stating his propositions. He forthwith discusses and settles the authoritative value of the work drawn from. This is the perfection of critical acumen. And inasmuch as our historians of universities have been living in a fool's paradise concerning the origin and formation of those institutions, Father Denifle has his hands full in correcting, refuting, rejecting, and discussing the statements of his predecessors. His book in every page bristles with argument. It is a book that shall henceforth be indispensable to the student of history. No man can ignore it and presume to write upon mediæval times. The three agencies that moulded the Middle Ages into their characteristic shape and gave them life and being were the Papacy, the

Holy Roman Empire, and the University of Paris. Each wielded a far-reaching influence the full extent of which few historians have been able to measure. Therefore do we most cordially thank Father Denifle for the scholarly volume he has given us, and we hope and pray that he be spared the health and strength to finish the other volumes that are to follow.

Prior to Father Denifle's great book the only work that attempted to remove the history of the University of Paris out of the domain of romance in which DuBoulay had placed it was the slender volume of M. Charles Thurot. Every student of education since 1850 has found the book invaluable in giving him for the first time a correct notion of the organization of the University of Paris. Even the search-light of Father Denifle's acumen, while pointing out a mistake here and there, approves of the main conclusions of the author. When Thurot went astray he was generally misled by placing too great confidence in DuBoulay. M. l'Abbé Douais did for the Dominicans what Thurot did for the University of Paris. He for the first time mapped out for the general reader the whole complex organization of study under which the Dominicans passed. His book is a valuable contribution to the history of pedagogics. It is largely based upon original documents. The book is timely, for men are now beginning to appreciate the influence of the mendicant orders upon the Middle Ages. In like manner, the "*Monumenta Franciscana*" gives us insight into the foundations of the Franciscans in London and Oxford. The first volume includes the chronicle of Thomas Eccleston, the letters of Adam Marsh, and a short register of the Minorites in London. The second volume contains a fragment of Thomas Eccleston's treatise on the advent of the friars, the rule of St. Francis, the statutes of the observant Franciscans and other valuable records bearing upon the order. Noteworthy is the respectful tone in which the introductions to these volumes are written by the late Professor Brewer and Mr. Richard Howlett. These writers were not Catholic, but no Catholic could be more zealous in defending the practises and customs of the friars; none could be more considerate in making allowance for time and place.

Father Denifle is outspoken in his denunciation of the synthetic method as applied to history. He must be analytical or nothing. He is convinced that naught but unsatisfactory results can be reached by the synthetic method.¹ But we should distinguish. For purposes of investigation and verification, the analytical is the only proper method; but results having been reached, there is always place for the synthetic method. The material having been

¹ *Einleitung*, xxiii.

tested, it may be safely employed to build up with. Therefore, under leave of Father Denifle, we shall make a short study of school-life in the mediæval universities, in the course of which we shall attempt to reconstruct that life as contemporaries reveal it, and as it appears to our view. We shall first consider the organization of a university.

I.

The oldest mediæval universities of which we have cognizance are those of Paris and Bologna. The origin of each is buried in the mists of the past. Bologna became famous as a school of law; students flocked thither from all parts; in the course of time it possessed an autonomy of its own. Pope and emperor endowed it with certain rights and privileges, and forthwith it loomed before us as a great university. So it was with the university of Paris. For half a century before it became recognized as such, we find it to have been a great intellectual centre, made famous by the brilliant teachings of William of Champeaux, Abelard and Peter Lombard. The masters became organized into a scholastic guild. But the university can be traced to no one school, or no combination of schools as its source.¹ The teachers of that day supplied an educational want; the schools of Paris thus became centres of instruction which grew apace with the concourse of students and teachers. "They had practical ends," says Laurie; "their aim was to minister to the immediate needs of society. . . . They simply aimed at critically expounding recognized authorities in the interest of social wants. It was the needs of the human body which originated Salerno, it was the needs of men as related to each other in a civil organism which originated Bologna; it was the eternal needs of the human spirit in its relation to the unseen that originated Paris. We may say, then, that it was the improvement of the profession of medicine, law and theology which led to the inception and organization of the first great schools."² To the inception, perhaps, yes; to the organization, decidedly no. The university of Paris was not organized from the schools of St. Victor's, or St. Genevieve's, or any combination of these with other schools. There is extant no record of a definite act by which one might say, "Here is the charter of incorporation; here is the decree of organization." The guild spirit was abroad and permeated all trades and professions. The masters were no exception. When their guild looms into prominence, it receives recognition; but it is only by decree of pope or emperor—and of pope chiefly—that its degrees become entitled to universal respect. Thus, long

¹ This point has been settled forever by F. Denifle, *Entstehung der Universitäten*, pp. 655 sqq.

² *Rise and Constitution of Universities*, pp. 109, 110.

after the guild of masters in Paris had become recognized, it remained under the jurisdiction of the chancellor of the cathedral of Notre Dame. It was out of the struggle between the chancellor and the masters that the university grew into a corporate existence.

The chancellor of Notre Dame had been an important factor in educational matters up to the beginning of the twelfth century. He held absolute sway over the students of all Paris; he dispensed licenses; he was the students' civil and religious judge; he had the power of excommunication.¹ He became high-handed and abused his power. He exacted exorbitant fines; he had a dungeon of his own, and imprisoned arbitrarily. The popes and their legates, in order to diminish this power, granted various privileges to students and masters. Thus Innocent III., who had been himself a student in Paris, and had been witness of the chancellor's tyranny and of the long train of evils that followed in its wake, legislated in order to break it down. In 1208 he authorized the teachers to be represented by a syndic; in 1209 he bestowed upon them the right to take oath to observe such rules as they deemed proper and useful to impose upon themselves as a body. In 1213, he restricted the chancellor's judicial powers by forbidding him to refuse a license to teach, to anybody recommended by the masters. This act is regarded as the charter of the university.² In this manner did His Holiness constitute masters and students into a true corporation. Six years later—in 1219—Pope Honorius III., forbade the chancellor to excommunicate masters and students in a body without the authorization of the Holy See.³ The kings of France was no less generous in the privileges and prerogatives that they granted the masters and students of Paris. All this legislation fostered the growth of the university while it crippled the authority of the chancellor. But the death-blow was given to that authority when the masters and students abandoned the shadow of the cathedral and flocking to the left bank of the Seine, found refuge in the dependencies of the abbeys of St. Genevieve and St. Victor. In 1213 no school belonging to the university stood outside the island of the city.⁴ In 1215, the papal legate, Robert de Courçon regulated in regard to the study of theology that no one should teach it who was not thirty-five years old, who had not devoted at least eight years to study in the schools, and who had not in addition attended a theological course of five years.⁵ This shows that Paris had already a

¹ Bulæus, *Hist. Univ. Paris.*, vol. iii., p. 44.

² Thurot, *De l'Organisation de l'Université*, p. 12.

³ Not any member of the university, as Thurot puts it,—*De l'Organisation*, p. 12.

⁴ Denifle, *Die Entstehung der Universitäten*, p. 662.

⁵ Bulæus, vol. i., p. 82. Thurot mistook the reading of this text in his essay.

school of theology and that dialectics were regarded as simply a preparation for the higher branch. In 1216, the first year of the papacy of Honorius III., who took an abiding interest in the rising university, a school was opened under the jurisdiction of the chancellor of St. Genevieve's. The chancellor of the cathedral regarded this as an encroachment upon his rights, and refused to regard as valid any license or diploma signed by the chancellor of St. Genevieve's. The quarrel was settled by Pope Honorius III., in a brief to the bishop and chancellor of Paris, in which it was ordered that any licentiate of the chancellor of St. Genevieve's be admitted to teach upon the same footing with a licentiate of the chancellor of Notre Dame. This gave new impetus to the schools on the left bank of the Seine. Students continued to flock thither. Between 1219 and 1222 the largest exodus to Mount St. Genevieve took place. About 1227 the schools of theology and law were transferred to the same side. Thenceforth the abbot of St. Genevieve's assumed a certain amount of jurisdiction over the university, and finally the chancellor of St. Genevieve's shared the administration with the chancellor of Notre Dame and the rector of the four nations. Thus was the University of Paris—the Latin Quarter—cradled on the island beneath the shadow of Notre Dame. Thus did it grow into a corporate existence out of the struggles of the masters to rid themselves of the thralldom of the chancellor.

Once only did the papacy fail in sustaining the university in this struggle. The incident will throw light upon mediæval university life. About 1221 the university had a seal engraved as the essential attribute of its corporate autonomy. The chapter of Notre Dame took umbrage at this act as a novelty not to be tolerated and brought the case before the papal legate then residing in Paris. The legate placed an injunction upon any further use of the seal until the case should have been properly tried and decided. Before the decision was arrived at, the seal was used, and in 1225 the legate decided in favor of the chapter of Notre Dame, broke the seal and forbade, under penalty of excommunication, the formation of another. This decision raised a storm. The scholars and masters rose up as one body; they besieged the house in which the legate dwelt, and caused him to flee to some place of safety. It was only in 1246 that the university afterwards obtained from Pope Innocent IV. the right of holding and using a seal. In the meantime the four nations had each its seal, and any document requiring the sanction of the whole university was stamped with the four seals conjointly. While examining these seals in the beautiful volume of Vallet de Viriville we are reminded that the patrons

of the university were the Blessed Virgin, St. Catherine, St. Nicholas and St. Andrew.¹

Speaking of the four nations reminds us of the fact that they, no more than the pre-existent schools, were the elements out of which the university was directly formed. They came after that formation. The university grew simply out of the association of the professors of the four disciplines : theology, law, medicine and arts.² The four nations were so many guilds modelled after the Saxon guilds of an earlier age. The division was more artificial than spontaneous. It grew out of the peculiar relation of things in the Middle Ages. Youths flocking to a centre of learning from all parts of the world found themselves among strangers, exposed to every kind of imposition. Until it was otherwise legislated for and even thereafter these youths were charged exorbitant prices for lodging, board, books, service, clothing. True, the university from the hour of its inception undertook to protect the students against the exactions of the townspeople. Thus, the price of lodgings was to be fixed by sworn arbitrators, half appointed by the town and half by the city,³ but there were many other things in regard to which the students required protection, and of which the university could not or would not take cognizance. Hence the necessity of their forming themselves into associations for mutual protection. The natural division was according to nations and provinces. Oxford had two nations, the North and the South ; the students of Bologna were divided into Transalpine and Cisalpine ; those of Paris were divided into four nations. The last-named were organized somewhere about 1219. They were composed of all the scholars included in the licentiate, together with the Masters of Arts.⁴ The four nations were known as the French, which included the Italian, Spanish and Greek students ; the Picardians, which included the students of the northeast and the Netherlands ; the Normans and the English, which included those of Ireland, Scotland and Germany. Later on, we find the Franciscan students in the university so numerous that for convenience sake they were divided into nations. Such a division was well calculated to bring about a simplification of general management and superintendence. Each of the four nations had its own hall and its own rights and privileges as a corporate body. It had its procurator, and, as has already been remarked, its seal distinct from that of the university, its common purse, its patron saint and its Masses.⁵

¹ See the images of those saints on the first seals in *Histoire de l'Instruction Publique en Europe*, pp. 129-135.

² Denifle, *Entstehung*, p. 131.

³ *Story of the University of Edinburgh*, by Sir A. Grant, i., p. 5. Gregory IX. obtained this concession from Louis IX. in 1244.

⁴ Denifle, *Entstehung*, p. 131.

⁵ Thurot ; *De l'Organisation de l'Enseignement*, p. 22.

Members were addressed according to the nation under which they were enrolled. Those of the French nation as *Honoranda Natio Franciæ, Gallorum* or *Gallicana*; those of Picardy as *Fidelissima Picardorum*, or *Picardica*; those of Normandy as *Veneranda Normanorum* or *Normaniæ*; and those of Germany as *Constantissima Germanorum*, or *Allemaniæ Natio*.¹ In consequence of the wars between England and France antipathy to England was shown at an early stage of the university by expunging that name and substituting Germany instead. The national spirit waxed strong with the growth of each organization. Party spirit ran high among the nations. Public festivities were frequently occasions for public rioting. Each nation vied with the other in celebrating the feast day of its patron saints, with the religious solemnities of which were mixed up the most worldly and profane rejoicings. They were made the occasion of illuminations, masquerading, balls and cavalcades. As each nation sought to excel in display, members of the other nations endeavored to spoil the celebration. They were attacked while walking in procession. A decree of Oxford University prohibited the nations from going to church or to the public places in a body, dancing or shouting with masks over their faces, or to march anywhere with garlands of leaves or flowers on their heads under penalty of excommunication, and if persisted in, of imprisonment.² Not only did each nation seek to rival the others in pomp and show, but each to a certain degree despised the others, and attached thereto a nickname of opprobrium that was considered characteristic. The Englishman was a drunkard and a leech; the Frenchman was proud, effeminate and decked out like a woman; the German, furious and obscene; the Norman, vain and boastful; the Poitevin a traitor and a spendthrift; the Burgundian, stupid and brutal; the Breton, light and changing; the Lombard, miserly, cowardly and avaricious; the Roman, seditious, violent, and quick at blows; the Sicilian, cruel and tyrannical; the Brabantine, a man of blood, an incendiary, a brigand; the Fleming, a glutton, a prodigal, and soft as butter.³ The hurling of such epithets soon led to blows. Even the religious orders became tainted with the race-spirit. We read that the superior of the Dominicans in Oxford objected to the receiving of subjects from other nations in the convent of that place, for which he was deposed in general chapter and subjected to a severe penance for several years.⁴

¹ Vallet de Virville: *Histoire de l'Instruction Publique en Europe*, p. 134.

² *Munimenta Academica*, p. 18.

³ Jacques de Vitry: *Historia Occidentalis*, cap. vii., p. 278. Archbishop Vaughan erroneously mentions the Picards in this quotation. Jacques de Vitry does not use the word.

⁴ Martene and Durand: *Thesaurus Anecd.*, t. iv., 1730, 1731.

There was one common enemy in relation to whom all the nations in all the universities were united as one man. That enemy was the town. The students were so protected by papal and royal decrees that they could behave most outrageously with the greatest impunity and escape chastisement. The university became the spoiled child of kings and popes. The young men had no respect for person or property. They compelled the passers-by to give up their purses and spent the booty so acquired in the taverns with the vilest company of men and women. No townsman or townswoman was safe in their hands. No matter how great their crime, if taken into custody by the civil authorities the whole university was up in arms and suspended all lessons till the culprits were released.¹ There was never a peace between town and gown; there was merely an armistice; the feud was only smouldering when it was not open. Affrays not infrequently ended in the plundering of houses and even in murder. A characteristic incident that occurred in 1381 in Cambridge when the country was in a state of intense excitement, is told by Mr. J. Bass Mullinger: "At Corpus Christi all the books, charters and writings belonging to the society were destroyed. At St. Mary's the university chest was broken open, and the documents which it contained met with a similar fate. The masters and scholars, under intimidation, surrendered all their charters, muniments and ordinances, and a grand conflagration ensued in the market-place, where an ancient beldame was to be seen scattering the ashes in the air, as she exclaimed, 'Thus perish the skill of the clerks!'"² These instances might be multiplied at will.

The nations soon grew beyond the mere purposes of discipline that seemed to have been the primary object of their formation. The prominence that they acquired in avenging injuries done any member of their guild, whether by legal process or otherwise, gave them a voice in the administration of the university. Their proctors were received with the dignity and honor becoming representatives of bodies so powerful. They elected officers; they prescribed studies; they were foremost in repelling every attack made upon the rights and privileges of the university by chancellor or bishop. They elected a common head who became known as the rector. In 1249 they agreed that this election shall be by means of the four proctors.³ The rector was taken exclusively from the faculty of arts. At first elected for a month, afterwards for six weeks, he was by statute of 1278 elected for three months.

¹ For instances see Du Boulay, *Hist. Univ. Paris*, t. v., pp. 97, 145, 830; t. vi., p. 490.

² *History of the University of Cambridge*, "Epochs of Church History," p. 20.

³ Bulæus, *Hist. Univ. Paris*, vol. iii., p. 222.

In the beginning he was only the common head of the nations. Denifle says: "If the rector was, only head of the nations, and these were not identical with the university, it is self-evident that the rector was not head of the university."¹ As we have seen, the nations soon became the most formidable, the most active and the most aggressive elements in the university. Towards 1300 the faculties of law and medicine were subject to the rector of the four nations; towards 1350 the faculty of theology fell under his jurisdiction, and he then became head of the whole university.² Father Denifle considers the office to have been a superfluous one throughout the whole career of the university.³ Be this as it may, the day of his installation was one of great rejoicing. It was celebrated by a solemn procession in which the religious orders residing in the Latin quarter joined the members of the university. His jurisdiction was supreme, extending to all schools, officers and trades under the university. He was held in great honor and esteem; was frequently called into the councils of the king, and in procession walked side by side with the bishop of Paris as his peer. He was custodian of the treasury and the archives, and controlled the *Près-aux-clercs*. He gave letters of scholarship to masters and students, conferred on them the privileges of the gown, and received from them in return the oath of perpetual obedience, no matter the dignity to which they might afterwards arrive.⁴ He was addressed in French as *Messire*, or *l'Amplissime*; in Latin as *Amplissime Rector*, or *Vestra Amplitudo*.⁵

The revenue of the rector came out of the sale of parchment, which was controlled by the university. The market was permitted only in three places; namely, in a hall of the convent of the Mathurins, at the fair of St. Laurent and at that of St. Denis. The rector sent out his four sworn dealers in parchment to count and tax the bundles brought in for sale by the outside merchants. The tax being levied and gathered, after the tradesmen by appointment of the king, those of the bishops and the masters and scholars had made their purchases, the merchants were free to sell to whom they would.⁶ In 1292 there were nineteen dealers in parchment in Paris, twelve of whom lived on the street then known as *des Écrivains*, now called *de la Parchemnerie*.⁷

The great event in this connection was the fair held at St. Denis. From 1109 it was customary for the people headed by the bishop and many of the clergy of Paris, to go in procession to the open plain of St. Denis in order to venerate a portion of the true Cross.

¹ *Entstehung*, p. 107.

² Denifle, *ibid.*, p. 132.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 693.

⁴ Vallet de Viriville, *Histoire de l'Instruction publique en Europe*, p. 125.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

⁶ Crevier, *Histoire de l'Université*, t. ii., p. 130.

⁷ A. Franklin, *La Vie privée d'Autrefois, Ecoles et Collèges*, p. 94.

The relic was exposed, prayers were said, sermons were preached and solemn benediction was given. The exposition of the Holy Cross lasted nine days during which these devotions were repeated. Merchants took occasion of the throngs to expose their wares, and the plain of St. Denis during this season became also a place of chaffer—a fair—*indictum*.¹ As late as 1429 the religious character was still kept up, for we find that June 8th of that year the bishop and clergy went to St. Denis in order to preach a sermon and give benediction of the Holy Cross.² Early in the thirteenth century St. Denis became the chief market for parchments. The rector of the university recognized it as such, and rode in state to the fair, and had his seal impressed upon all the parchments required during the year.³ It was the occasion of a general holiday for the university. The students started from St. Genevieve's, and rode in procession to the grounds amid the astonishment of the townsfolk. No sooner had they set foot on the ground than they abandoned themselves to all kinds of disorder. It was a pilgrimage of voluptuousness in which innumerable excesses were committed.⁴ In following the doings of the rector we are getting a further glimpse of mediæval university life. His was a unique position in that life. To attain the goal of his ambition, his nation—and every nation had its own candidate—set on foot intrigues in which they exhausted their ingenuity; there was rivalry open and secret; there were bribings and threatenings; masters and scholars became excited; violence and quarrelling were frequent, ending sometimes in murder.⁵ Disorder and turmoil preceded the attaining of the office; Disorder and turmoil accompanied the celebrations connected with the holding of the office; disorder and turmoil succeeded to the going out of office. This excitement—this constant seething of brain and vibration of nerve—enters into the very life of the university.

It was out of all this turmoil that the university grew into life and being under the fostering care of Church and State. The privileges that both Church and State conceded were the vital principle of her existence. "A university without privileges," says Du Boulay, "is a body without a soul."⁶ Looking back upon her growth, we find her cradled in the sanctuary of Notre Dame, then nourished into full development as an organism, independent of the state, with her own autonomy and with power to make her own laws.

¹ Whence l'endit—lendit—*Landit*.

² Le Beuf, *Histoire du Diocese de Paris*, t. iii., p. 283.

³ Le Beuf, *ibid.*, p. 269.

⁴ Vallet de Viriville, *loc. cit.*, p. 172. A full description—a description that we dare not reproduce—written between 1290 and 1300, has been published in the valuable work of Le Beuf, *Histoire du Diocese de Paris*, p. 259.

⁵ Thurot, *De l'Organisation*, p. 32.

⁶ *Hist. Univ. Paris*, vol. i., p. 95.

She drew her vitality from the Holy See. The same is true of Oxford and Cambridge. It is amusing to note how jealously Oxford watched Paris. Whatever privilege Paris received, Oxford claimed as being on a par with her sister *Studium*. Nay, if some of the doctors in Paris were given a benefice or made bishops, forthwith Oxford sent a deputation to Rome asking for an equal share in the bounty of the Holy See. As science is free as truth, even so were these mediæval universities secure from all control. This complete liberty was the secret of their success. Scholars and masters enjoyed immunity from civil jurisdiction, and were answerable for their behavior only to fellow-members. In this respect, the University of Paris stood alone, a power great and unique in the world, ranking in prestige and influence with the Papacy and the Holy Roman Empire. Doctrinal heresies lurked and grew within the precincts of this and other universities; immorality was at times rampant among students and professors, but withal, as children of the Church, encouraged and protected by the popes, they were Catholic in their spirit and in the general tone of their teachings. "Privileged and well-beloved daughters of the Church," says Wimpfeling, "they endeavored by their fidelity and attachment to render to their mother all that they owed her."¹ So long as they remained docile to the Church they flourished; the moment they were secularized and became mere tools in the hands of unscrupulous governments, they fell from their high and exceptional standing. This is their history in a nutshell.

II.

Such was the outward showing of a mediæval university as witnessed in its highest type. Its inner life was more varied and interesting. Let us again confine ourselves to Paris or to its models. The University of Paris was an intellectual centre through which passed numerous currents of humanity from every part of Christendom,—all devoured by a thirst for knowledge that could scarcely be satisfied. There was scarcely a class or condition of men that was not to be found in a mediæval university. The rich were there, and in their eagerness to acquire knowledge forgot that they were rich, and neglected to surround themselves with the luxuries and comforts that wealth might have purchased. The poor were there, and were not ashamed of their poverty. Prince and peasant, lordly cardinal and struggling clerk, sat on the same floor listening to the same lecture. Boys of twelve were there; a statute had to be passed excluding those under that age. Men of thirty were there; "at the age of thirty or forty," says Le Clerc, "the student

¹ *De Arte Impressorio*, p. 19.

at the university was still a scholar."¹ Professors in one department of letters were to be seen, after delivering their own lectures, seated in the same hall with their pupils studying the same matter. "This gave to the professorship," says Janssen, "a lively, animated and youthful emulation; to the student a dignity and an influence, traces of which we meet with everywhere in the constitutions of the universities."²

Before assisting at a lesson, let us acquire some idea of the attainments of scholars and masters. Students began the university course at an early age. Having learned reading, writing and the elements of Latin grammar, they started to study logic at the age of twelve, and from fourteen upward they were in position to submit to the examinations and carry on the disputations that were requisite before receiving any academic distinction. The first was that of determinant. In order to receive the distinction of determinant, the student, after his second year's course, applied for examination. This examination was severe. Immediately before Christmas, the candidate sustained, in presence of the school, an argument or dispute on some question of morals against a regent. Finally, there was the crowning test, in which he disputed daily, till the end of Lent, in the school of his nation, rue de Fouarre. Remember that these disputes were carried on by boys not older than fifteen or sixteen years. In 1472 the Lenten disputes were suppressed, and the degree of bachelor was substituted for that of determinant. If successful, the candidate received a certificate showing that he had read the following works:

1. *The Introduction of Porphyry* in the translation of Boëthius. Porphyry wrote the book as an introduction to the *Categories* of Aristotle, a work also translated by Boëthius. It was through this book that the question of Nominalism and Realism assumed such vast proportions during the Middle Ages.

2. *The Categories of Aristotle.*

3. The book on *Interpretation*, which was the only part of Aristotle's writings taught before the ninth century in the translation of Boëthius. It is generally known under its Greek title *Perihermenias*.

4. *The Syntax of Priscian.* This contained books xvii. and xviii. of Priscian's Grammar, and was known as the *Priscianus Minor*. Priscian (flor. 500) was the standard grammarian of the Middle Ages.

5. An ordinary or an extraordinary course in the *Topics* and *Elenchi* of Aristotle. These books had been translated by James of Venice before 1128.³

6. The determinant should, in addition, have followed during two years the course in dogmatics, and should have assisted at, and taken part in, the disputations.

The course here given is of the thirteenth century. In the fifteenth century there was a general revolt against the scholastic system, and morals and rhetoric received a more prominent place.

¹ *Hist. Litt. de la France au XIV^{ème} Siècle*, i., p. 269. ² *Geschichte*, i., p. 74.

³ Am. Jourdain, *Recherches Critiques sur les Traductions d'Aristote*, p. 58.

In 1452 the rules of versification were made a recognized part of the course, and in 1457 the study of Greek was added. But, looking at the programme of studies here laid down, it must be said that it was heavy work for youths not older than fifteen or sixteen. It may seem strange to us that boys of that age could carry on such disputes. The precociousness of the youth of those days is a fact that has been frequently commented upon. Tiraboschi called attention to it, and Janssen gives several instances in the fifteenth century, in which extraordinary things are told of studious youths. Adam Potken (1490) read the "Euclid of Virgil and the Orations of Cicero" to pupils ranging from eleven to twelve years of age. John Eck (b. 1486) completed all the Latin classics from his ninth to his twelfth year. At the age of thirteen he entered Heidelberg, and at fifteen received from Tübingen the degree of Master of Arts. John Muller, the celebrated mathematician, matriculated in the university of Leipzig at the age of twelve, and in his sixteenth year, received his Master's degree from the university of Vienna.¹ Multiplicity of subjects and multiplicity of textbooks tend to weaken the intellectual grasp of the modern student. In those mediæval days, when the student had few notes and less books to fall back upon, having listened to his lessons attentively and retained them carefully in memory, he became more self-reliant and if possessed of a fair share of talent, could hold his own in disputation.

The determinant had certain privileges and certain duties. He was entitled to wear a cape and to assist at the masses of the nations. Every Friday he was obliged to discuss grammar with the backward boys. He was liable to be called upon as assistant teacher and give special or cursory lessons. This led to abuse; for we find from the statutes of Oxford that determinants, upon receipt of a bribe, were given to neglect the ordinary lessons and devote themselves exclusively to the cursory lessons. He furthermore presided over the disputations of the younger students, reviewed the whole question under discussion, noticed the imperfections or fallacies in the arguments advanced, and then pronounced his decisions or determinations in the scholastic forms.² His duty at other times was to dispute logic daily, except Friday, when he disputed grammar, and the first and last day of his determination when he disputed questions in morals and dogma. The hours for determining were from 9 to 12 and from 1 to 5.³ In the meantime, after the first principal test, the determinant continued his studies till he had completed his twenty-first year, when he was

¹ Janssen, *Geschichte*, pp. 59, 60.

² Anstey, *Munimenta Academica*, i. p. 87.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

of age to become a licentiate, or one having the inherent right to teach. He should also have made public reading in some school, of a book of Aristotle during a whole year.

For the grand act of inception there was long and severe preparation on the part of the intellectual athlete, and when the event arrived it was accompanied by great excitement and turbulence. The ceremony was held in the hall of the nation under which the aspirant was ranked. The aspirant went from school to school inviting each master in person.¹ Invitations of most elaborate designs were sent out to distinguished persons, and were frequently accepted. Charles VIII. of France was present in 1485 at the sustaining of a thesis. It was the ambition of every bachelor and his friends to have a brilliant gathering, and they resorted to every means to attain their object. This ambition went to the extent of making it customary to drag in every passer-by, will-he, nill-he, in order to have a large audience. Statutes were enacted forbidding the practice under pain of excommunication and imprisonment.² The mode of disputation did not vary. The theses had been announced some time before. The conclusions were beautifully inscribed on the invitations that had been sent out. The hour having arrived, let us enter the hall. The master is seated upon a platform in a large arm-chair. The candidate for inception stands before him. The first thesis is announced, the young bachelor repeats the proposition, divides it up into its various headings and explains each as best he can. It is not permitted to interrupt him according to the statutes; but on this point the statutes are frequently broken. He is not long speaking when an opponent undertakes to pick flaws in his arguments, formulating all his objections in the mould of the syllogism. The defendant takes up the objections, resolves them into their component parts, discusses separately their affirmative and their negative sense, throws his arguments into the syllogistic form, now distinguishing in regard to the use of terms, now denying the major or minor premiss, now calling attention to the employment of an undistributed middle term. As the debate grows warm the dialectic skill and acumen of each shine forth. The opponent takes hold of the last distinction made by the defensor, and actually places him upon the horns of a dilemma. The audience cheers. The defensor is staggered; only for a moment, however. He retorts the dilemma upon his wily objector and routs him amid the clamor of the students. Another takes up the cudgels and attacks the thesis from his point of view. Again, there are distinctions and syllogisms and dilemmas as before. And so, "amid loud clamor on the part of the

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 433.

² Vallet de Viriville, *Hist. de l'Education Publique*, p. 137.

audience, and on the part of the combatants great shaking of the head and stamping of the feet, and extending of the fingers, and waving of the hands, and contortions of the body as though they were crazed,"¹ the work goes on for hours, during whole days and even weeks. Be it remembered that a written essay or thesis was in those days something unknown among students. Everything was carried on orally.² At last, after a severe struggle, the successful bachelor becomes an inceptor. Here, by the way, is the origin of our word "commencement" as applied to the closing exercises of a college.

The disputation concluded, the newly-made inceptor takes oath to observe the statutes and also that he is provided with a school in which to read.³ Forthwith the biretta is placed on his head and he gives his inaugural lecture. If it is a candidate who incepts as a master in grammar, the beadle presents him with a birch and a ferule, with which he publicly flogs a boy within the precinct of the school. He pays the beadle for providing the birch and the boy for submitting to the flogging.⁴ Then comes the feasting incident to inception, from which none are exempt. Even members of religious orders are obliged to give in money the average cost of a banquet. The officers and the invited guests are arranged in order of precedence by the chancellor, or rector, or proctor of the nation. Presents consisting usually of silk or kid gloves, or of a scarlet hood were made to the officers and the distinguished guests. The statutes of Oxford decreed that on account of the violence and disorderly scenes that accompanied this banquet, no one should stop the free ingress and egress of any master or his servants to or from the hall or tent or other place in which the graduating feast is held, and that no one except the servants of the university, or the host, shall enter the said hall or tent until the masters who have been invited shall enter with their servants, and after they shall have sat down, no one else shall sit down except by the appointment of the chancellor, and each in proper order according to his rank; and furthermore it is decreed that no one shall beat the doors, tables, or roof, or throw stones or other missiles so as to disturb the guests, under penalty of imprisonment, excommunication and a fine of twelve pence.⁵ So great became the abuse, that ultimately all these costly rejoicings were abolished.

The inceptor's next step was to apply for the master's degree. This was done as follows: Upon application the inceptor received

¹ Peter Cantor, *Verbum Abbreviatum*, cap. v. p. 34.

² Thurot, *De l'Organ, de l'Université*, p. 88.

³ *Mun. Acad.*, p. 414.

⁴ See Mullinger: *History of the University of Cambridge*, i., p. 344

⁵ *Munimenta Academicæ*, i., pp. 308, 309.

from the chancellor a book on which he was to be interrogated. After mastering the volume he returned to obtain a day in which he might present himself for examination. Upon the day named he appeared before a jury of several masters presided over by the chancellor, and after a searching examination he was declared admitted to the honor sought, or was postponed for another year. Furnished with ecclesiastical approbation, he came before the members of his faculty and received at their hands the master's cap. Once made master, the inceptor was required to teach while pursuing his own studies in theology, in medicine, or in civil or canon law. "The fact," says Mr. J. Bass Mullinger, "that each master of arts, in turn was called upon to take part in the work of instruction is one of the most notable features in the mediæval universities. His remuneration was limited to the fees paid by the scholars who formed his auditory to the bedells, and was often consequently extremely small. When once, however, he had discharged this function, he became competent to lecture in any faculty to which he might turn his attention, and . . . when studying either the civil or canon law, theology or medicine, might be a lecturer on subjects included in his own course."¹ Here we leave the master teaching philosophy and pursuing his studies in the professional courses, in order to consider another element that enters into the formation of the university, and though the co-operation of that element was never cordially welcomed, it none the less contributed largely to the university's development and prestige.

III.

Two religious orders that had sprung into existence about the same time with the universities, soon became identified with them and exercised over them a deep and an abiding influence. These were the Franciscans and the Dominicans. Erase from the records of both Paris and Oxford the names of the learned men furnished by these orders, and you extinguish the greatest lights, the most dazzling glories, of mediæval thought. There is a void that nothing can supply. Had these men not lived and labored as they did, the whole trend of modern thought would run differently. The Dominicans were the first religious order admitted to membership in the university of Paris, and with time became the leaders of thought. The Franciscans guided the destinies of Oxford. Oxford was the nursery of the order, from the time when Richard Muliner gave the corporation a house and piece of ground for their use, and Brother Agnello, coming up from London, caused to be built a decent school in which he in-

¹ *A History of the University of Cambridge*, p. 28.

duced Robert Grosseteste to deliver lectures, and the future eminent bishop of Lincoln brought that school into high repute—from that time the Gray friars became a power in the university.¹ They made rapid strides in study, in disputation and in teaching. The most eminent men in England considered it an honor to lecture under their auspices. Under the able administration of Adam Marsh, the Gray friars achieved a world-wide reputation for learning. Let one who has made a thorough and a loving study of them speak, though he was not of their visible communion, and to all appearances died not a member of their household. Professor Brewer says: “Lyons, Paris, and Cologne were indebted for their first professors to the English Franciscans in Oxford. Repeated applications were made from Ireland, Denmark, France and Germany for English friars; foreigners were sent to the English school as superior to all others. It enjoyed a reputation throughout the world for adhering the most conscientiously and strictly to the poverty and severity of the order; and for the first time since its existence as a university, Oxford rose to a position not even second to Paris itself. The three schoolmen of the most profound and original genius, Roger Bacon, Duns Scotus and Occham, were trained within its walls. No other nation of Christendom can show a succession of names at all comparable to the English schoolmen in originality and subtilty, in the breadth and variety of their attainments.”² This unstinted tribute is not exaggerated.

That the Franciscans should achieve such greatness as a learned body is all the more remarkable, when it is remembered that Francis of Assisi, in making poverty his bride and the chief glory of his Order, had intended that poverty of spirit should extend to deprivation of intellectual food. He dreaded the influence of learned doctors upon his friars. He did not intend to create an order of students; his sole object was to form simple men in the mould of nature's own simplicity, detached from anything in life, and, most of all, from self, burning with love of God and zeal for their neighbor; men of the people, in touch and sympathy with the people, living amongst the poorest upon the fare of the poorest, going into pest-houses and nursing the sick, waiting upon lepers, loving whatever was loathsome in humanity, seeking and cherishing whatever was abandoned or whatever others shrank from; men free as truth. In moulding such men, he was laying the deepest and most solid foundation on which to build up the noblest intellectual superstructure. The spirit for study, the craving for knowledge, a spirit and a craving that have never been surpassed, filled the

¹ *Monumenta Franciscana*, vol. i., p. 17 and p. 549.

² *Monumenta Franciscana*, i., preface, lxxxi.

very atmosphere of the thirteenth century. No body of men, with such noble aspirations as those possessed by the disciples of Assisi,¹ could resist the inspiration of the hour, or keep pace with the progress of humanity, without utilizing one of the most God-like gifts bestowed upon man—his intellectual endowments. As early as 1217, the Franciscans were installed in Paris, and it is not many years before we find them thoroughly equipped for educational purposes. In a short period they grew to be thousands. They provided for their own subjects a school of grammar, a school of rhetoric, a school of logic, and a fourth school for the study of the *Sentences* of Peter Lombard and the *Physics* of Aristotle. The hall for their advanced students was not excelled by any in the university. Their method was that of the university. They held two lectures in the morning—one on dogmatic theology, the other on particular issues requiring explanation. In the afternoon, there was a lecture on Holy Scripture, and from four to five the friars held open disputation, in which any comer was free to join.² In their rules of prayer, and missionary labor, and in devoting themselves to healing the ailments of body and soul, they acquired a training and received a special formation that the university could not give.

Their educational influence was many-sided. Mingling with the people, they cultivated the language of the people, and helped to fix the forms of our modern tongues; as nurses of the sick, they compounded medicines and learned the healing properties of plants; as missionaries, they travelled among many peoples, shrewd observers of men and manners and customs;³ as instructors of the people in the truths of their religion, they organized companies to enact, and enacted themselves, at times, in the ancient miracle-plays, the great truths of our holy religion; as disciples of their saintly founder who loved all things in nature, who called the sun his brother and welcomed death as his sister, they also looked upon bird and beast, flower and tree, with kindly and observant eye, and learned to respect and reverently investigate the phenomena of nature; and so it happens that a Vincent of Beauvais gives us the Cyclopædia of the thirteenth century, and that Roger Bacon makes his "Opus Majus" the forerunner of the "Novum Organum" of his namesake of four hundred years later; in the domain of art, the tender devotion that they inculcated for Mary

¹ See Luke Wadding: *Annales Minorum*, t. i., p. 248.

² Vaughan: *St. Thomas of Aquina*, pp. 228, 229.

³ See the *Itinerary* of Blessed Odoric of Pordenone, in the *Acta Sanctorum*, under January 14th. From this book, and from the account of the Franciscan friar, Carpini, concerning the Tartars, Sir John Maundeville filched all that is truthful in his so-called *Travels*. See *Encyclopædia Britannica*, new edition.

Immaculate inspired the school of art which flowered into the Madonnas of Raphael.

The Dominicans were established with the formal purpose of occupying themselves with books and studies rather than with the singing of antiphons and responsories,¹ for their sole mission was to preach the doctrines of Christianity and to refute heresy. Their courses of instruction were accordingly thoroughly organized from the beginning. In each convent, four officers were charged with the studies: The prior, who looked after the general conduct and the spiritual and physical wants of the young brothers; the lector and sub-lector, who taught in the schools; and the master of studies, who was always with the brothers, taking part in their exercises, presiding over their repetitions, assisting at their examinations, and even, at times, explaining the lesson. In the fourteenth century, to these were added a cursory reader and a chief lector. The youthful aspirant to the order was admitted at the age of fifteen, and was supposed to be instructed in all the preliminary branches of education. His novitiate, which lasted three years, was divided between study, spiritual exercises, and manual labor. The novitiate passed, the novice went through a three years' course of logic and rhetoric; his whole course in logic should extend to five years. This was known as the *Studium artium*. It corresponded to the course pursued in the university for a bachelor's degree. Its method was comprised in the three traditional words: Lectures, study, disputation—*legendo, studendo, ac disputando*. The lector explained the text of the grammar, rhetoric, or logic, which the student had in hand; the student immediately withdrew to learn the lesson. Later, all assembled, and there were repetitions and colloquies or discussions in circles of students of the same capacity. There were semi-annual examinations, and formal disputations were carried on from time to time. By these means the student was prepared for the grand act of disputation.

The young Dominican then passed to the course of ethics and physics, provided he was adjudged "tried, instructed and of good health,"² for to none other was the course given. The course was known as the *Studium naturalium*. It extended over two years till 1372 when it was made thereafter a three years' course. It comprised natural philosophy, ethics, mathematics and all the sciences of that day. The treatises of Aristotle were pressed into service as rapidly as they were translated. It was the course in which the genius of Albertus Magnus was watered and bloomed into flower and leaf and ripened into fruitful and suggestive thought

¹ Theodosia Drane; *Christian Schools and Scholars*, vol. ii., p. 59.

² Provincial chapter of Montpellier, held in 1271. (See G. Douais; *Organisation des Etudes chez les Frères Prêcheurs*, p. 69.

in scientific matters ; and how great Albertus Magnus was in the domain of natural science only a Poucher and a Humboldt can adequately tell. Even in that age Albert made permanent contributions to physical science.¹ St. Thomas availed himself of this course so well that he was afterwards able to speak to the students of the University of Paris, upon the construction of aqueducts and machinery for raising and conducting water—*de aquarum conductibus et ingeniis erigendis*—as well as expound the *Timæus* of Plato.²

From this course the student passed to theology. The *Studium Theologiæ* lasted three years. It differed from the previous course in that there was no exemption from its curriculum. The subject was so vast and so profoundly was it studied, it was never completely mastered. No member was too old or too learned to say that there was nothing more for him to acquire. Hence, all were required to follow the course. "The Friar Preacher," says Douais, "whether student or professor, assisted at the lessons in theology with the two-fold intent of not forgetting what he had already learned and of adding to his stock of knowledge."³ Here also, the method of teaching was in many respects similar to that pursued in the university. A text-book was read and commented upon by the lecturer. For a long time the "Sentences" of Peter Lombard was the text. Later, the commentaries were carefully written before being delivered to the students. Lessons were given every day except feast-days. The customs of the order recognized three kinds of lessons ; the public or ordinary lesson at which all assisted ; the private lesson given to backward students, and the extraordinary or cursory lessons similar to those of the university, generally imparted by bachelors without being seated in the master's chair. There were repetitions, colloquies and disputations as in the philosophy classes. Only a doctor in theology was permitted to preside over the disputations. The times for disputation were Advent and Lent. The rule rigidly insisted that all the brethren be present at these exercises, and it was only after the disputation that they were permitted to go out to preach. Humbert Romanus, one of the generals of the Order, in calling attention to the defects against which the students should guard, throws further light upon the mode of conducting the exercise. He is unsparing in his censure of those friars, even though they be doctors, who presume to speak at all times in a light, flippant vein, without proper preparation, or without sufficient ability to discuss their themes. He is no less severe upon those who preserve an obstinate silence during the whole time of the exercise, whether through laziness, or tim-

¹ See Echard : *Scriptores Ordinis Prædicatorum*, t. i., pp. 162-183.

² Bulæus, *Hist. Univ. Par.*, t. iii., p. 408.

³ *Organisation des Etudes chez les Frères Prêcheurs*, p. 75.

idity, or dread of defeat. Some debated well, but their vanity was continually cropping out; in season and out of season they aired their knowledge when holy and learned men would have blushed to name the authors that they had read. Some there were who simply sought to get the better of the argument, regardless of truth; others lacked precision and clearness, while not a few were obscure and diffuse. Even the most penetrating minds, at times, became lost in minute distinctions that were vain and useless.¹ These disputations among the doctors in theology were not carried on merely with a view of sharpening the wits, or carrying on an intellectual joust, or as a display of talent. Their aim was higher. It was for the search after truth, the probing of truth, the more complete expression of truth.

We have not yet exhausted the educational resources of the Dominicans. The Order had in reserve other courses of discipline. Each province was obliged to have two special schools for the more gifted of its subjects.² These schools were intended solely for those young friars whose aptitude gave promise of their becoming lectors one day. The friars were sent thither after pursuing the ordinary three years' course in theology. A doctor in theology, having under him a sub-lector, was placed in charge of each school. In 1290, a lector was appointed to teach special courses in exegesis and other biblical studies. These schools were known as the *Studia solemnia*. The method of instruction pursued in them was the same as that pursued in the lower course. The studies were simply broadened and deepened. Those pursuing them were not permitted to remain longer than three years.

Nor was this all. In certain centres, schools of higher study were established. They were called *Studia generalia*. They were no mere novices in learning who were sent up to these schools. They were men who had been teaching for years, and who now resumed their studies with the intention of winning the doctor's cap and of perfecting themselves in special branches. These schools were established in Paris, Oxford, Bologna, Naples, Montpellier and other university centres. Those who assisted at the course instituted in Paris did so with the view of becoming profound theologians; those who attended the course in Bologna had in view chiefly the study of civil and canon law; those who went to Barcelona intended to become skilled in the sciences of the Moors and versed in the Arabic and Hebrew languages. The discipline of these houses was severe. There was no vacation as in other schools; the courses were profound, and were carried on without

¹ *Expositio regule B. Augustini*, Biblioth. municip. de Toulouse, MS., 417 (I. 402, fo. 147 b.), quoted by Douais, *loc. cit.*, p. 79.

² Douais, *loc. cit.*, p. 127.

intermission during the whole three years that they lasted. None but brothers of approved health and tried powers of endurance, with a constitution equal to the great strain, were admitted to take up these courses. They were men who had already given evidence of their intellectual prowess as professors of philosophy, theology, Sacred Scriptures, or even as priors. Peter Lombard's book of "Sentences" was read through each year; there was also a complete course of biblical studies, besides the special branches that predominated in each school. Here the friars made a more profound study of the philosophical and theological errors of the day—and the very air was reeking with such errors—as well as of the Sacred Scriptures and the Fathers of the Church. The professors of the school were picked men. The superior called them together from all parts of Christendom. Once a week they held a solemn dispute. Such a dispute—deep, thoughtful, searching—must have been quite a contrast with the wranglings daily going on in School street at Oxford or the rue de Fouarre at Paris. After fifteen years of study—not counting the years spent besides in teaching or preaching on the mission—these men must indeed have become well-equipped to proclaim truth and meet error, no matter the guise under which it should appear. In connection with this solemn and learned body of men discussing the great issues of their day one image fills the mind. It is that of the magnificent tribute which Raphael paid to the Real Presence in his sublime picture, *La Disputa*. There has the artist painted the very men who took part in such solemn discussions. And though Duns Scotus and Dante were more at home in the halls of a Franciscan convent, still we meet there the familiar faces of Albert and Aquinas. We should never grow weary of repeating the fact that the greatest glory of the Dominican *Studium*; indeed, of the mediæval university, is Thomas Aquinas. There was no principle of human reason that he did not lay bare; there was no problem in physical or metaphysical science that he did not grapple with and find a solution for; there was no prevailing error that he did not attack and pursue to its last lurking-place. The very construction of the propositions in his most scientific work, the *Summa Theologie*, the very words in which he formulates objections, are understood only in the light of the history of contemporaneous error. He fought no windmills; he set up no men of straw in order to knock them down. He dealt with living issues. He was in touch with his age upon all its intellectual wants and aspirations. When pondering over his marvellous pages, let us not forget that while much is due to the transcendent genius of their writer, much also is due to the admirable conservative method and rigid intellectual discipline of the Order in which that genius was moulded.

A student once asked Thomas the best method of becoming proficient in science. The rules laid down by the Angelical Doctor are few and simple and to the point, and reflect the serenity of his own life. They bespeak a rare habit of mental cautiousness. They may be summarized as follows: "Pass from the easy to the difficult; be slow to speak and equally slow to give assent to the speaker; keep your conscience clear; do not neglect prayer; be amiable towards everybody, but keep your own mind; above all things avoid running about from one school to another; let it be your delight to sit at the professor's feet;¹ be more concerned to hoard in memory the good things said than to regard the person speaking; strive to understand what you read, clearing your mind of all doubts as you go along; eagerly seek to place whatever knowledge you can get hold of in the depository of your mind; find out what you can do, study your limitations, and do not aim higher than your capacity permits."² These are golden words to be cherished by every student.

Such suggestions were especially valuable in those days. The spirit of university life was catching, and that spirit was a wild and lawless one. "The professors in great part," says Archbishop Vaughan, "were reckless adventurers, a sort of wild knight-errants who scoured the country in search of excitement for the mind and money for the pocket. The students were, in the main, disorderly youths, living in the very centre of corruption, without control, loving a noisy, dissipated life in town. . . . They would rollick and row, and stream in and out of the schools, like swarms of hornets, buzzing and litigating and quarrelling with one another, upsetting every semblance of discipline and order."³ The picture is not overdrawn. It is merely a garbled transcript from the accounts left us by John of Salisbury, and Cardinal Vitry. "The distinguished traits," says Leclerc, "of this student life, the memories of which have survived with singular tenacity, were poverty, ardent application, and turbulence."⁴ The students were as riotous in intellectual matters as many of them were licentious in morals. No subject was too sacred for their curiosity; there was no truth that they were not prepared to challenge. The masters were bold and unscrupulous in their treatment of the holiest doctrines. Nay, so fond of novelties were they, that they were known to pay scholars to receive their strange teachings. The Franciscans and Dominicans, in the first fervor of their formation, every member

¹ There is here a play upon words that cannot be reproduced: *Sellam frequentare diligas, si vis in cellam vinariam introduci.*

² *Opusculum*, lxi. Opp. t., xvii., p. 338.

³ *Life of St. Thomas of Aquin*, p. 206.

⁴ *Etat des Lettres au XIV. Siecle* (see the whole passage), i. 269-271.

filled with the spirit of charity and zeal, conservative and orthodox in their teachings—more especially the Dominicans—were a standing rebuke to the masters and scholars who were given to novelties and unwilling to mend their ways. Even the better class of university men looked askance at the coming among them of these religious. They were regarded as intruders. The prejudice extended from the university to the court. The laureate of St. Louis attacked the Dominicans. “They preach to us,” he says, “that it is sinful to be angry and sinful to be envious, whilst they themselves carry on war for a chair in the university. They must, they will, obtain it. . . . The Jacobins are persons of such weight that they can do everything in Paris and in Rome.¹ But the members of the university were not content with words. They attempted to boycott the religious. “The masters and scholars of the rival schools would not permit young men to attend the lectures of the Dominicans, nor allow the young Dominicans to be present at secular disputations and defensions.”² The spites and jealousies that were arrayed against them, found voice in the pamphlet—“Latter Day Perils”—of William of Saint Amour. It was a trumpet blast calling forth all the pent-up feelings that men had been nursing against the friars. We shall not enter into the details of this controversy. Suffice it to say that Thomas Aquinas was deputed to reply to the scurrilous tract, and he did so with all the calmness, scientific precision, and delicate sense of justice that characterize his works above those of his contemporaries. He met the issue in his own direct and simple manner. He asks: “Can regulars be members of a college of secular masters?” and replies that they most undoubtedly can, since the function that seculars and regulars exercise as teachers is based upon that which is common to both, namely, to study and teach. “The function of teaching and learning,” to use his own words, “is common to seculars and to religious men; whence there is nothing to forbid religious men from being associated with seculars in the same function of study and teaching,³ even as men in diverse conditions compose the same body of the Church, inasmuch as they all agree in unity of faith.” More regularly organized than the university itself, these religious schools had a staying influence upon her students, her professors, and her courses of study.

¹ *Oeuvres Complètes de Rutebeuf*, t. ii., p. 251. The Dominicans were called Jacobins because their convent was on the St. Jacques.

² Vaughan: *Life of St. Thomas of Aquin*, p. 250.

³ *Opusculum*, i., cap. iii. *Op.* xvii., p. 11, ed. Parma. The same subject is discussed in the *Summa Theologia*, 2a, 2æ. Quaest. 187, 188. For a detailed account of the controversy see Vaughan, *Life of St. Thomas of Aquin*, pp. 208–367.

IV.

We shall now descend to the university schools and from the various side-lights that have been thrown upon them, endeavor to catch a glimpse of the manner in which masters and scholars live and act therein. Throughout this intellectual seething mass, there are schools giving instruction in the whole gamut of learning contained in the Trivium and the Quadrivium. Here is a class of youths studying grammar. In the Middle Ages, grammar included literature and composition as well as the technical rules of construction. It covered the whole of the humanities. Hraban Maur defines grammar to be "the science of interpreting poets and historians, and of writing and speaking correctly."¹ John of Salisbury, who resided in Paris in the latter half of the twelfth century thus describes the method pursued by his teacher, one of the most competent in his day: "Bernard of Chartres, not confining himself to grammar, threw in a thousand observations during the reading of his lesson, on the choice of words and of thoughts as well as on the variety and the pleasingness of style. . . . He cultivated carefully the memory of his pupils by obliging them to recite—some more, some less—the most beautiful passages from the historians and poets commented upon in class; and he always questioned them upon the lesson of the previous day. He exhorted them to confine their readings to what was good and edifying and gave them a daily exercise to compose in prose and verse."² This is an admirable method; it cannot be improved upon even to-day after the intervening experience of seven hundred years. Bernard of Chartres was an ideal teacher. In the following century the grammarians were not so painstaking. Both masters and scholars were impatient to tread the mazes of logical disputation; in consequence, we find a falling off in the matter of style. "The youths of the universities, but ill-furnished with books, and be it said, but ill-disciplined, passed through the grammar classes rather unprofitably. They remained in them the least possible time, being attracted by the ever-increasing vogue of Aristotle."³ We enter one of these grammar schools. The scholars are all in one room. Here is one coming from the master after reciting his lesson and having had his exercise corrected. He goes to his place, procures his tablets, a pen and ink and some parchment, and seating himself at a long table running through the centre of the room transcribes the corrected exercise upon a small sheet of parchment. The lettering is small and cramped; the words are abbreviated. You

¹ *De Inst. Cler.*, lib. iii., cap. 18.

² *Metalogicus*, lib. i., cap. xxiv. Col. 854, Migne ed.

³ Ch. Daniel, S. J., *Des Études classiques*, chap. vi., p. 138.

would like to know the meaning of the line inscribed in this manner :

"Tityre t p r s t f."

The teacher has been alluding to Virgil, and this is evidently a shorthand report of some line in that author's works. Here it is; the word *Tityre* gives the clue.

"Tityre, tu patulæ recubans sub tegmine fagi."

The youth next to him is taking notes in logic. He is evidently quoting an extract from Occham's Logic in the following condensed form: "*Sic hic e fal sm qd ad simplr.*" Here is the text: "*Sicut hic est fallacia secundum quid ad simpliciter.*"¹ The less the scholars placed upon parchment, the more they engraved their lessons upon the tablets of memory. Moreover, paper and parchment were expensive commodities in those days, and were therefore to be sparingly used. Even as late as 1502 the amount of paper assigned to each scholar for the purpose of note-taking was three sheets a week.²

Let us pass to another school. This is the Place Maubert—which shall long continue to embalm the name of Albert the Great. That dingy humid street in the neighborhood, is the street that Dante has made immortal in his great poem; it is the rue de Fouarre.³ It is not an inviting street to enter. From early morning it is the busiest and noisiest thoroughfare in Paris. The students regulate their rising by the bells of the neighboring churches. The mass-bell of the Carmelites whose convent you may notice on Place Maubert gives the first signal at five o'clock. An hour later Notre Dame strikes Prime.⁴ Then the student who boards out quits his den, and descending the stairs carefully, takes his shortest course through the by-ways and alleys to the rue de Fouarre. He enters one of these low, ill-ventilated halls with a damp heavy smell. The master is seated on a stool; it being a winter morning three or four candles spread a dim light through the heavily laden air, and the students, seated upon small trusses of straw, take notes of the lecture read by the master.⁵ We already had a glimpse of a school of arts; then let us pass to a school of theology.

The room is also low and dingy; the light is inadequate. There are no benches; but here and there are some blocks, and there is an abundance of straw. The master sits in a large chair raised on

¹ Vaughan, *Life of S. Thomas of Aquin*, p. 199.

² Pasquier, *Recherches sur la France*, t. i., p. 920.

³ *Paradiso*, x., 136-138.

⁴ Buleus, *Hist. Univ. Paris.*, t. iv., p. 413.

⁵ Alfred Franklin, *La Vie privée d'Autrefois; Ecoles et Colleges*, p. 168.

a platform. The chair has a high straight back and arms, and can easily seat two. He who is beside the master is an aspirant for the licentiate. But the master predominates over the aspirant and over the school.¹ Now, note the method pursued. It is composed of two parts: the reading and explanation, and the disputation. All teaching is done orally. "The act of instructing by the living voice," says Vincent of Beauvais, "possesses I know not what hidden energy, and sounds more forcibly in the ears of a disciple as it passes from the mouth of a master."² The master was at first accustomed to speak altogether without a manuscript; later in the history of the university, he read or dictated from his manuscript a commentary upon the text. But when, in 1354, Cardinal d'Estouteville reformed the university he reverted to the practice of commenting without manuscript. Indeed, the teacher was placed under oath not to read from a written commentary upon the text under discussion, lest he might cease to prepare his lessons properly.

The master is now prepared to give his lesson. The "Sentences" lies open on his lap; the students are seated around in groups; some are kneeling upon one knee with tablets in hand, prepared to take notes; some few have their own text-book, but the majority are content with getting a glance at the copy in the hall for their use. The master first reads a proposition from the Lombard. In a subdued voice and familiar tone, slightly ascending,³ he discourses upon the proposition, the scholars in the meantime, as rapidly as possible, in that species of shorthand which we have already been inspecting, writing down the explanation. Hear how neatly he gives the reason for each division of the text, for each paragraph, for each sentence, for the terms employed, and note how clearly he makes the consequences to flow therefrom. The master having ended his explanation, the students compare notes and settle upon the sense and the very words of the discourse that they have heard. Some teachers, more careful than others, in order to avoid misunderstanding, or a garbled version of what they had said, dictate their explanations. In 1492 it was made a general rule that the shorter morning class be devoted to dictation.⁴ However, in the thirteenth century, the master, whose lessons we are attending, was content with explaining the text by a running commentary, leaving the students to carry away from the lesson as much as they could, or as they cared to reproduce. The following was the method set down in the Oxford statutes: The masters

¹ D'Assailly, *Albert le Grand*, p. 186.

² *Speculum Doctrinale*, lib. i., cap. 37.

³ *De Disciplina Scholarium*, cap. v., Migne ed., vol. lxiv., col. 1234.

⁴ Du Boulay, *Hist. Univ. Par.*, t. v., p. 808.

shall read the text in order; then they shall explain it fully and openly as the matter requires. The explanation being duly arranged, they shall afterwards choose notable passages from the text to be remembered. Lastly, they shall raise points for discussion, but only such as naturally arise from the text, so that no prohibited matter be taught.¹

However, the chief element of university training was not the lecture; it was rather the disputation. Master disputed with master before the students; the master disputed with his scholars; the scholars disputed with one another under the supervision of a determinant who was present to repress quarrels, correct errors, prevent disputes from degenerating into personalities, and mark the indolent ones refusing to take part in the debate. The exercise was at times abused by teacher and pupils. Propositions were discussed apart from their connection; distinctions were made and divisions and subdivisions were entered into with a degree of ingenuity that only such practice as was then prevalent could achieve. This process of dialectic refining was carried to the farthest extremes. Thus Stephen Langton, who is known in history as the champion of English liberties, was previously known in Paris as a student whose work was no less solid than brilliant; one of the most enlightened expounders of the Scriptures, and a powerful preacher, with a strong musical voice that could reach any audience. Even Stephen Langton could not resist the prevailing practice of refining thought and seeking a new meaning for simple words. And so we find him taking a well-known love ditty of his day,—*Belle Aalis mainz s'en leva*,—and with a view of turning bad into good, writing a commentary upon it, giving it an allegorical and spiritual sense.² Each professor sought to excel his rival in logical distinctions, divisions and sub-divisions. Each student vied with the other to pick flaws in his arguments; each sought to overwhelm the other and confuse his mind by subtle distinctions beyond his grasp. There was no exemption. No other road was open to the winning of honors; therefore should each be on the alert to answer every objection with all the vim possible. Should one refuse to take part in the debate, his silence would be imputed to ignorance or arrogance.³ Disputation was the great field of triumph, and in consequence the greater part of the day was spent in disputation.

What was the daily regulation of university life? We may out-

¹ *Munimenta Academica*, vol. i., p. 288.

² He makes Alice the Blessed Virgin, and thus speaks of the name: "Hoc enim Aalis dicitur ab a, quod est sine, et lis, litis; quasi sine lite, sine reprehensione.—*Bibliothèque Nationale*, MSS., lat., 16,497.

³ *De Disciplina Scholarium*, cap. iv., Migne ed., col. 1234.

line it as follows: The first lesson, as has been seen, was given in the morning early. The students then withdrew and arranged the matter of the last lesson, or prepared for the next, until the hour for dinner, which was generally at ten o'clock. At noon they carried on disputations, which, from the hour, were known as meridionals. At five there were repetitions of lessons and conferences, during which the scholars recited and answered questions put by the master. On Saturdays they had recapitulations and repetitions of the lessons given during the week. These were solemnly carried out under the supervision of the chief master of the school. There has been preserved for us a daily regulation of college life in Cambridge, which, though mentioned by Lever in the sixteenth century, runs back among college traditions as far as the memory of man goeth. We shall put it in the words in which Cardinal Newman expressed it. The student "got up between four and five; from five to six he assisted at Mass and heard an exhortation. He then studied and attended the schools till ten, which was the dinner hour. The meal, which seems also to have been a breakfast, was not sumptuous; it consisted of beef in small messes for four persons,¹ and a pottage made of its gravy and oatmeal. From dinner to five P.M., he either studied or gave instruction to others, when he went to supper, which was the principal meal of the day, though scarcely more plentiful than dinner. Afterwards, problems were discussed and other studies pursued till nine or ten, and then half-an-hour was devoted to walking or running about, that they might not go to bed with cold feet,—the expedient of heat or stove for the purpose was out of the question."²

But we are here trenching upon college discipline and college methods in the universities, a subject that shall claim our attention in another article. In the meantime, let us beware of losing sight of the true proportions of our mediæval universities in our eagerness to pry into details concerning them. Looked at in their historical setting, they stand out among the greatest creations of the spirit of Christian truth. They were the institutions of highest culture, the centres whence radiated the latest word in science and the most advanced wave of thought.

BROTHER AZARIAS.

¹ "A penny piece of beef among four," is Lever's expression. *Sermon Preached at Paules Crosse*, Arber's Reprints, vol. iii., pp. 121, 122.

² *On Universities*, pp. 330, 331.

SOCIALISM : ITS HARM AND ITS APOLOGY.

Socialism Exposed and Refuted. By Rev. Victor Cathrein, S.J. A Chapter from the Author's Moral Philosophy. Translated from the German by Rev. James Conway, S. J. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago : Benziger Brothers.

“**E**XCEPTING Fourier, perhaps, there is not a single serious socialist in France,” remarked M. Leroy-Beaulieu a few weeks ago to a well-known contributor to the “Figaro.” And then he added: “In France we have a singular mania for constantly seeking a universal panacea, and for promising a mass of chimerical benefits which would result from this or that system.” We have only to change the word “France” to Germany, England, or America, and the same observations would hold good. A “serious socialist” is as rarely to be met with in Germany, in England, or in America, as in the land of Proudhomme, Louis Blanc, and Lafargue; while “the mania for seeking for universal panaceas” is a natural product of the chronic sufferings of any multitude. Socialism, anarchism, communism, are but experiments for the mitigation of evils which have sprung from the two following causes: financially, from the altered conditions of trade; and morally, from the selfishness of the wealthy classes. We must not be too severe upon the theorists. It has been the misuse of property, the greed of the capitalists, the indifference of the prosperous towards the unfortunate, which have given color to the accusations by the laboring classes, and which have justified their hostilities to their task-masters. Utterly impracticable, even impossible as is socialism; equally subversive as it would be of the liberties of whole communities, and disastrous to individual aspiration; its real paternity must be sought for in the moral defects of the “superior” classes, a good deal more than in the restlessness of the sons of toil.

Of the numerous writings which have been published on the subject of socialism we may award the palm to Father Cathrein's able treatise “*Socialism Exposed and Refuted*;”¹ for though it be only a Chapter of his “*Moral Philosophy*,” its great value is that it is a profound study of German socialism, as it is now developed, theoretically, by its highest masters; “the Germans,” as Father Conway says in his Preface, “having the very question-

¹ Translated from the German by Rev. James Conway, S.J., and published by Benziger Brothers, of New York.

able merit of having given to modern socialism a systematic and scientific form. Whatever there is in English and American socialistic life and literature is but an importation, a plagiarism, a bad imitation of German socialism." In England the imitations are specially feeble; the reason being that English socialists are more negative than they are constructive in their theories of re-constituting society. The English socialists are not given to chimeras or panaceas, so much as to the division of spoil. Indeed, it is only recently that the disaffected classes have been taught by their chief orators that there must be "science" in a successful revolution.

The first question we naturally ask ourselves is : What is socialism? The next question is : What are its fallacies?

Socialism, anarchism and communism are a sort of positive, comparative and superlative. Communism has never found serious defenders; for to appropriate private property, under the plea of a common good, would be only to make the law the biggest of all thieves, and would put an end to all aspiration and motive. Anarchism, in lesser degree, would wish to exclude all central control, and to secure political and economical independence for separate unions or groups of the laboring world. Socialism, which has been called "the political economy of the suffering classes," has a good many divisions and subdivisions; its political, social and economical bearings necessarily jarring in constant strife. The socialists who would put everything on a democratic basis call themselves, generically, social democrats; and advocate the transformation of all capital, or means of labor, into a sort of common bank or treasury for the community; to be administered by the State for the benefit of of all, with some sort of arithmetical equity. The theories and the realizations of such socialism are so conflicting, that it will be better to take a glance at the growth of the theories, by way of measuring the extreme difficulties of the realizations.

Though communism, anarchism, and socialism are modern in their breadth and their activity, their theoretical ancestry is very ancient. Before Christ, 1300, on the island of Crete, there was a primitive attempt at a communism, which Lycurgus, in his proposed Spartan constitution, adopted as the groundwork of his ideal. Plato also, in his Republic, commanded community of goods and also community of education. Aristotle, however, who had studied these systems, condemned them as untenable or impracticable. When we come to Christianity, we find a community of goods to have been approved by some of the very earliest converts; but this was because "voluntary poverty" was accepted as a "counsel of perfection," which is an estimate

utterly alien to modern socialism. Besides, among the Christians, there was no binding obligation to "sell all they had and give to the poor"; there was free choice as to giving all or keeping all, so that there was no sort of sympathy with modern communism. They who quote the "Acts of the Apostles" for a justification of their views as to private property are forgetful of these three distinctive features: (1) That the Christian converts were impoverished by their conversion; (2) that the motive of Christian communism was heroic charity, and that (3) the adoption of this lofty standard was voluntary.

Modern socialism is about a hundred years old, and the first writer who gave form to its aspirations was Count de Saint Simon (1776-1825), who concluded that labor was the standard of economics, and that therefore laborers must take the first place in society. Fourier, who was more practical than St. Simon, proceeded to build up a system of socialism, though neither Fourier nor St. Simon ever got so far as to advocate the total abolition of private property. Louis Blanc warred on free competition, as being the root of all economic disturbances, and wanted the State to be producer in chief, so as to make private production impossible. Karl Rodbertus was the first scientific (German) socialist; and he took the ground that "all goods, considered from an industrial standpoint, are only the product of labor, and cost nothing but labor." Karl Marx played a still more important part in his elaborate treatises on exchange-value and use-value, and in his condemnation of surplus-value, or capital; though he argued that, while "part of the produce of labor should be employed for new production, the rest should be for use and be distributed as became private property." Ferdinand Lassalle, the great agitator, whose phrase, "the iron law of wages," has passed into a household word among socialists, followed closely on the same lines as Marx. And from these teachers, in chief, have come the present phases of socialism, which, in Germany, are known as social democracy; in France and in England as collectivism; and which in both countries are in rivalry with communism.

Let us take the first section only of the "Gotha programme" (1875), as indicating the first principles of modern socialism. "Labor is the source of all wealth and culture, and since universally efficient labor is possible only through society, it follows that—the universal duty of labor being supposed—the entire product of labor belongs with equal right to the entire body of society, that is, to its individual members, each according to his individual wants." The rest of the lengthy programme may be briefly described as a far advanced and carefully schemed Radicalism, in-

cluding, of course, the captivating condition, "Religion to be declared a private matter." But now let us take a glance at the "Erfurt Programme" (1891), which is very lengthy, and from which the following extracts may suffice: "Only the transformation of private capitalistic property in the means of production,—*i.e.*, land, mines and mining, raw materials, tools, machinery, and means of communication,—into common property, and the change of private production into socialistic, can effect that the extensive industry and the ever-increasing productiveness of social labor shall become for the down-trodden classes, instead of a fountain of misery and oppression, a source of the highest prosperity and of universal and harmonious perfection. This social revolution implies the liberation, not only of the laboring class, but of the entire human race." It may be here noted, since we must be brief in our quotations, that socialism, in America, is practically identical with socialism in France, Germany and England; the socialist congress held in Baltimore in 1883 declaring that "Labor being the creator of wealth and civilization, it rightfully follows that those who labor and create all wealth should enjoy the full result of their toil." So that as Father Cathrein observes: "The only difference between the socialists of the various nationalities is in their tactics, not in their principles; and in no other country have their principles been so scientifically developed as in Germany."

II.

"The fundamental principles of socialism," says Father Cathrein, "belong not to economical but to metaphysical science." This touches the pith of the whole matter. Such fallacies as (1) the primary principle of the equal rights of all men; (2) the insisting on industry being the sole gauge of emolument; and (3) the materialistic estimate of all existence, as though man's soul were too dreamy a thing to be reasoned about, are fatal, to begin with, to any system of economics; for wrong principles cannot produce right remedies. "Equal Rights" must mean "absolute equality," however much the theories be kept distinct. The more intellectual of the socialists have tried to keep the two distinct, and have pleaded only for "a natural aristocracy." This sounds well, but it is impracticable. Every one sees that, under any conceivable system, there must be political and social inequality; just as every one recognizes that, in the sight of God and man, every man has an equal right with all his fellow-men to be treated with justice and with generosity. But the very variety of human beings—youth and age, wit and dulness, health and sickness, not to speak of the moral differences, which are quite as wide—proves

that the Creator has designed us all for different pursuits, and that the creature must submit patiently to his destiny. The natural difference between the sexes—which the socialist seeks to lessen—opposes a fatal barrier to “absolute equality.” The state of marriage and the state of singleness oppose like barriers. And even if equality were forcibly achieved,—an external and apparent formal equality,—it could not possibly last twenty-four hours; for, as Father Cathrein puts it: “A gardener may effect that all the trees of a park are equally high or equally low; but only by continued and violent pruning. Such an unnatural condition however, cannot be lasting.” And as with family relations, and with social relations, and with professional relations, so also with the whole domain of personal aptitude; nothing can be more unreal than to believe that a forced education can result in a forced aptitude for all vocations. The State can have no more power to compel all intelligences to be equal, than it can have power (or moral right) to prevent the skillful or the industrious from taking precedence of the incapable or the indolent.

Nor is the theory of “universal compulsory labor” either a natural or a salutary conception; for it gets in the way of the culture of the higher faculties, and is fatal to the education for the priesthood, to the education for the arts, sciences, and special pursuits; while it simply converts all society into one great productive union—productive only in the gross, material sense, but not productive in either the religious or the refined sense. Indeed materialism is one of the worst evils of socialism; for we are bound to conclude, on the united assurance of all socialists, that the primary object of human life is material gain; so that Christianity, as even the feeblest sects have understood it, is to be banished from the ideal social state, and is to be supplanted by at least a political atheism, which must result in religious persecution. The Christian precepts of obedience to authority,—on the part of children to their parents, and of the laity to the pastors of their communion,—are to be set aside for ever; and for what? For obedience to the State, which will banish religion from its schools; which will dismiss the Name of God from its civilization, and which will insist on the “philosophy” of Karl Marx, that “religion is a fantastic degradation of human nature;” or on the “science” of Liebknecht, that “socialism must conquer the stupidity of the masses, in so far as this stupidity reveals itself in religious forms and dogmas;” or on the “enlightened” teaching of Dietzgen, that “a cultured human society is the supreme good in which we believe,” or on the “advanced principles” of the socialistic official organ, the “*Volkblatt*,” that “Christianity has brought no redemption: we believe in no Redeemer, but we believe in redemption;

no man, no God in human form, no Saviour, can redeem humanity; only humanity itself, only laboring humanity, can save humanity." Thus we have materialism, pure and simple, set up as the God of the new socialism; warfare on Christianity being its negative religion, and the adoration of human equality its positive.

Father Cathrein has two chapters on Economic Principles, in which chapters he discusses Karl Marx's theory of values, and his assertion that labor alone constitutes exchange-value; and also enters minutely into the "iron-law of wages," in reply to Lassalle's favorite weapon. It would be beside our purpose to attempt to sketch the author's reasoning, but it is strictly within our purpose to notice one admirable section, called "Liberalism the root of the evil." It is not intended, in this section, to refer to the liberal political party, but to the revolutionary and anti-Christian tendency which is so rife in many countries of the world. Socialism is the lineal descendant of this liberalism, though the parent may be scandalized by its offspring. Atheism and materialism were never bred of Catholic principles; they were bred of those principles which could welcome Darwin as an apostle, as previously they had welcomed the French Encyclopædists; and as to-day they warmly welcome such professors at universities as decry faith as old-fashioned or superstitious. And just as, morally, socialist principles are but advanced liberalism, so, politically, the liberal enforcement of unlimited industrial competition with the aid of modern discoveries in trade-swiftness, and with the facility of amassing capital by the few fortunate ones, are so many progenitors of the modern extravagances called socialism—a fictitious remedy to meet the evils born of liberalism. And what could be the only true remedy? Father Cathrein gives an answer—at least suggestively. "He who would make an efficient stand against social democracy or socialism, and bring about a permanent betterment of our social conditions must renounce liberalism, and return to the platform of full and unrestricted Christianity."

But now to consider more particularly such of the objections to socialism as may be said to be equally moral and philosophical. To begin with, socialism is *impossible*. Not that a refined and equable social system would be impossible under favorable conditions; but only that the conditions which now govern all society would be absolutely fatal to a pure socialism. Human nature, as a prime impediment, stands in the way. Human nature is not angelic, and never will be; so that selfishness, pride, and even injustice will always dominate all schemes however perfect. Moreover, the bright side of human nature would be as fatal to socialism as its darker or deeply selfish side; for in every man there is some degree of aspiration, and in some men a positive fire of ambition,

so that an iron-cased schedule of socialistic rules and principles would be as a strait-jacket to the better sort. Indeed what we may call the moral difficulties are more stubborn, more fatal than are the difficulties in pure economics; though these latter are absolutely inseparable—perhaps chiefly because they contradict human nature. And at this point we will digress just for one moment to notice three of the proposed changes in the social order; because these changes must be seen to beget *moral* difficulties, quite as much as economic or political. We allude to (1), the difficulty of drawing the line between anarchism and a despotic central authority for all countries; the rivalry of separate communities being as certain to beget hostility as the unification of all communities to beget stagnation.

Again (2), as to the division of separate producers among the entire people, no arithmetic could do it (on so large a scale) with due reference to relative values and relative merits. And so, also (3), as to the new theory of "public scrutiny"; if all goods, both productive and consumable, are to be subjected to the judicial scrutiny of overseers, what a fearful servitude must ensue from such surveillance, and how completely the new system would put an end to domestic life, as well as to social and neighborly life. Liberty, of all kinds, must disappear under a system in which the value of all one's products is to be determined by a committee; in which even what one should eat and drink, and wherewithal one should be clothed, must be overruled by a board of overseers. The almost-equality, also, of all private incomes would be tediously insipid and uninteresting, the more so, as every income must be small—so small as to forbid any indulgence. Men would long for the luxury of getting into debt, as a slight relief to the monotony of their careers. The tyranny, too, would be as bad as the monotony. Thus, the tyranny of being compelled to report all one's private wants to a local bureau, in order that they might be approved or disapproved, would be insufferable to a people born free; while the difficulty of determining who should serve and who should be served, would be only equalled by the difficulty of keeping one's private affairs secret—since the public registers would contain the details of one's daily needs.

And now to touch, though by mere allusion, on the three most important aspects in which Socialism can be viewed by Christian peoples—those of the family-life, of education, and of religion. As to the family-life, Bebel, a great authority, teaches that marriage is a "private agreement." "If disagreement, disappointment, or disaffection should arise, morality demands a disruption of the unnatural and, consequently, immoral alliance." "Free-love" is, therefore, to take the place of Christian marriage. And it must

follow, that all children, born of transitory contracts, must be at the mercy of spasmodic domestic harmonies, and must either be left with no education at all, or must be educated and cared for by the State. Family-life, which is the basis of Christian nurture, must be transformed into capricious tutelage and association—fathers, mothers, and children, being no more sacredly united than are the members of a private club or association. Moreover, the State taking the position of general provider for all the wants, duties, and expenses of parents and children, the Christian estimate of the mutual services of parents and children would be perverted into a mutual secular disregard. And it is manifest that, in such relations, the Christian idea of education—involving the whole training of mind and soul—would have no more place than it would have in a charity school; education becoming no more than household discipline.

As to education, in a secular sense, how can the massing of all children in a quasi-military State-system of uniformity tend to the strengthening of the moral character or of aspiration, or even tend to the bringing out of individuality? All children, say the Socialists, are to be instructed, to be “educated,” in all branches of knowledge and industry—a system which must result in mere shallowness and superficiality, and which, at the most, could mean “cramming,” not “education.” The Socialists admit many of the difficulties. They see what must follow *after* school-time. They see, that in the choice of businesses—in the whole domain of personal aptitude, or in the very delicate question of “vocation”—there would be a rush towards this pursuit or that pursuit, so that the labor-fields would be deserted for pleasant grooves. They must, therefore, give authority to the body-social to compel members to adopt this or that pursuit; and hence the freedom which is assumed to be socialistic, would be transformed into unbearable tyranny. But, indeed, it would be impossible that all young people should be “educated” in such fulness as should fit them for various pursuits; impossible that, as Paulsen puts it in pleasant satire, “the self-same individual should be letter-carrier to-day, to-morrow should perform the duties of a post-office clerk, on the third day should act as postmaster-general”; and so on through all the businesses and professions. The socialistic idea of fitting all men for all work; of creating such universality of aptitude, in the vast majority of the members of society, that they should be both able and willing to do anything or everything at the beck and call of a State committee or of a bureau, is the idea of turning the human mind upside down—an extravagance which has no warranty in our experience.

As to religion—if it be necessary to add anything to the testi-

mony which has already been adduced—we see that, everywhere, an overt antagonism to Christianity is the most prominent characteristic of Socialism. Even in Spain—an emphatically Catholic country—at the most recent of the congresses of the Socialists, Mdme. Paula Mink, a professed freethinker, was warmly applauded by her hearers when she uttered the following “free” sentiments: “We fight Clericalism, it is true, but it is not the only ravager. Clericalism will exist as long as there are capitalists to support and pay it.” Now, by “Clericalism” all freethinkers mean Christianity, in its dogmatic or divinely authoritative character; and since Christianity devoid of that character is not Christianity at all, we apprehend the mortal warfare of the Socialists. “Capital” is to be done away with, because its patronage is a material succor to the structural part of the visible Catholic Church; and then the State committees, the local bureaus, in happy socialistic times to come, will undertake the kindly patronage of infidelity. Thus it is seen that the two evils go together—the destruction of the real liberty of the subject, and the eliminating of divine teaching from the natural life.

III.

Let us, however, be thoroughly just to the Socialists; and admit that they have two grand facts on their side—the one, that all society is in tearful need of reformation; the other, that mere preaching will not reform it. The Socialists have sound reason for discontent, and, as we know that their discontent has been the parent of their socialism, let us glance for one moment at a few particulars. To begin with, the ground-work of the discontent may be roughly set down perhaps as follows:

(1) That labor has been increased instead of lessened by the invention of a thousand labor-saving machines; while (2) the laborer can derive no pecuniary benefit, either in the near or far future, by the saving which is effected by these machines, all the wealth passing into the hands of the owners of these machines, and remaining there without a chance of distribution; and (3) thus the wealth goes on increasing to a magnitude which becomes colossal, and which is, indeed, a burden to the over-prosperous capitalist; while the poor man is so weary with his never-ending toil that he has no time for rest, leisure or culture—the rich man multiplying his luxuries and his extravagances, and the poor man multiplying only his sorrows. Thus much may suffice as to the general controversy. And imagination can supply the details of the discontent. We will, however, proceed to indulge our imagination on this subject of the grievances of the poor classes, keeping strictly to the view taken by the Socialists; so that we may be able to realize

how fully justified is their complaint, though their panacea is impracticable and impossible. Indeed, the more we realize what there is of truth in their reproaches, the nearer we must necessarily get to a true solution.

The socialists, then, may be imagined as addressing the capitalists as follows: You rich men live on your interest and your dividends, while the poor seamstresses make shirts for a shilling a dozen. Thus the idle fare sumptuously every day while the workers often die of starvation. And yet you rich men are always talking to us of our "duties." We of course have our duties; you have none. Your duties, so it appears, are to revel in pleasures and in purchases, or in the enjoyment of the intellectual or the artistic, while our duties are to raise our hats to your incomes, and bow the knee to your worldliness and your ease. But you say to us, by way of offering us consolation, that we have freedom politically if not socially, since we can return our representatives to Parliament; we can agitate until we obtain what we want. No, we cannot; for the powers that be in every country are determined to stem the tide of democracy. We are in every country the victims of a game of State-craft; we are called the "residuum," the "refuse," the "proletariat"; and our superiors are bent on depriving us of sufficient leisure to enjoy sunshine or repose or mental culture. All laws are framed to keep down the working-classes, lest they should ruffle the sweet serenity of the capitalists. What freedom we *have* gained, we have gained, not with the aid of, but in spite of, many centuries of landlordism, so that our wrongs are now crying to the Creator for vengeance, and that vengeance we shall witness in a few years. But once more: You capitalists upbraid us because we are "unthrifty," "unsaving"; because we waste part of our earnings in gin palaces or beer shops; because we do not "lay by," as we see that you do, and make provision for the rainy day and old age. Now, apart from the fact that the working classes, as a rule, are much more self-denying than the wealthy classes, there remains the truism that extreme want or unhappiness necessarily engenders a disposition to rash pleasures. What are the spirit-shops but the momentary paradises of crushed classes, who, feeling that they are neglected, looked down upon, despised, by the fine gentlemen and fine ladies for whom they labor, naturally have resort to the company of their fellow-sufferers in low and cheap cabins of dissipation; while you fine gentlemen and fine ladies dine at night off costly viands and costly wines, not caring two pins for the outside sufferers. We maintain that, as a class, we workers are more moral, more thrifty, more sympathetic than you capitalists who give your checks to churchwardens; and we throw back your taunts with contempt,

and recommend you to keep your preaching for yourselves. While as to your reproach about our "not making provision for old age," how is it possible for a man with five or six dollars a week, and with five or six children to bring up, to lay by a store for years to come? If even you "gentlemen," who enjoy large official salaries for doing work which we should account play, are obliged to "retire" on handsome State-conferred pensions, how can we, out of our bread-purchasing dollars, put by so much every year into the 3 per cents? Unreal, insincere, hypocritical! Workmen have no more and no less of original sin than their betters who have large incomes to indulge it; as a class they are more deserving than their betters, who (the majority of them) "deserve" to lose all they have.

But waiving these personalities (which we hear almost every day), what are the gravely proposed "panaceas" which the socialists assure us will be practicable? A few moments of analysis will suffice for us. Let it be borne in mind that it is against all landlords and all profit-mongers that the socialists are united in declaring war. In every country the socialists attribute every grievance to the ascendancy of these two "accursed classes"; the interest of these two classes being wrapped up, say the socialists, in the impoverishment of the toilers who work for them. These two classes are bound to oppress and debase humanity in order to elevate themselves and amass wealth. All other classes, save the landlords and the profit-mongers, contribute their share of labor to the common good. Physicians and lawyers, architects and artists, musicians, men of science, or men of letters, even poets and the higher class of romancers, give and take in regard to labor and enrichment. Education and the fine arts, like all pursuits of the higher culture, have their places in the grand markets of the world's fair. There are two classes, and two only, who take everything and give nothing, and who are therefore the giant enemies of the Commonwealth; and these are the capitalists and the profit-mongers.

For the landlords and the profit-mongers—so the socialists assure us—are the only utterly useless members of society; they are the devouring monsters of the wealth and industry of the masses, appropriating to themselves the goods they have not earned, and the raiment for which they have not toiled nor spun. "They have no more right," says one English socialist, "to obtrude themselves on society than a wolf or a tiger has to make one of a Christmas party; they exist only for the impoverishment, corruption, enslavement and destruction of the human race." The history of the human race is little more, we are assured, than a history of the wars, conspiracies and giant frauds, which these two

classes have perpetrated from century to century in order to blot the image of God out of man and render him a beast of burden to the aristocracy. "Hellish classes," "colossal criminals," "devourers of the salvation of souls and bodies," are some of the epithets which are attached to all capitalists, whether they be great land-owners or monied men.

Now, assuming for the moment that there is any justice in this estimate—and we have endeavored to state it fully and without prejudice—we should at least look that the methods for a readjustment should be equally scientific and practical. Still keeping, then, to the socialist's estimate of the evil, let us see whether we can approve of their remedies.

Labor and capital are equally necessary to production. There are three kinds of capital: the land, human labor and money. The last of these is now the despotic master. What is money? (we are, of course, reasoning after the manner of the socialists). Money, having its origin in possessions *plus* labor, cannot possibly be the property of the possessors only; for even in the case of the possession of a machine, the machine cannot create work—it rather displaces it—so that to the laborer belongs at least a part-proprietorship. In other words, the capital which is accumulated from machinery being furnished by labor, not by the machine, ought in justice to be shared by the laborers; and all the advantages which are derivable from that machinery—lightened labor and easier access to commodities—ought to be enjoyed by the laborers who create capital, and without whom there could be no capital at all. Labor, therefore, is the sovereign master and dictator, instead of being a hired slave and dependent.

How, then, ask the socialists, shall labor be emancipated so as to take its rightful place as lord and master? Co-operation, they say, alone can effect it. Just as no one man can work by himself and for himself, but must need his fellow-man for an earnest partner, so in all efforts after social improvement, co-operation is the only force that can bring it about. Co-operation, therefore, must be the primary State maxim in regard to possession, distribution, and equalization, credit-funds being opened by the State for the advancing of required moneys to approved associates, with a view to any industrial purpose. Capital must henceforth be deprived of the right of dictating any terms to the laborers; capital having no more right to dictate to a laborer than a block of marble has to dictate to a sculptor how it shall be fashioned or with what grace. The present use of capital means monopoly, and it was monopoly of land that drove the workingman into the factory, just as it is now the monopoly of machinery which deprives thousands of laborers of daily food. And yet the capitalists say to

socialists, "the workingman is free." Yes, free to starve and to beg and be sent to prison; free to sleep on a door-step and be called a vagrant; free to parade the streets asking for work and to be committed for risking a breach of the peace. No; freedom will never come to the workingman so long as monopoly is his master. For monopoly of land and of machinery is the monopoly of all employment of labor; and what is this but the chaining of multitudes to the chariot of one tyrannical master? You must give the people the freedom of the land, and so the production of food, which is real wealth, will be made easy, while poor rates and taxation will decrease, and a self-supporting peasantry and a better-paid wage-class will replace the smock-frock and the starved poor. Machinery, in the same way, must be possessed by the many, and must be used by the many for the public good. Thus, co-operation will be the salvation of society, and a happy socialism will take the place of a state of society in which a few greedy tyrants live in luxury and wantonness at the expense of many millions of their betters.

Thus much may suffice for an attempt to "state the case," as socialists in most cases have stated it. We have not consciously weakened the force of their arguments; for this would be as unfair as it would be useless. We must fully admit that there is a force—a moral force. And because we admit this—in senses we shall now speak of—we will at once turn to the Catholic solution of the evil: a solution not indeed financial or economic, but terribly real, as being ordered by God Himself.

IV.

Who has not read the "Encyclical on The Condition of Labor"; a teaching so real, that, if the world would adopt its principles, there would be an end of the reason of being of socialism? While reading that "Encyclical," we must all of us have become convinced that society has gone wrong upon first principles; that society is wrongly educated from the nursery up to maturity; and that the grand fallacy of the education of modern times is that it does not educate the heart, only the intellect. Beginning in the early school days, boys are educated mechanically, while their hearts are treated as weaknesses of the human system. Indeed, to suppress heart, to quench the most refined aspirations of what we commonly understand by the "soul," is represented as being essential to the business career—which means getting all you can in the quickest way. In what ordinary school, public or private; in what university—we might also ask, in how many homes—is the growth of the deeper nature put before the youthful pupil as anterior to the growth of mere talent? Our socialist friends, whom we quoted just now, as rallying their betters on their inferiority,

were, alas, fully justified in what they said. Material greed, animal pleasure, selfish indulgences—with even an industry designed mainly to secure “the means”—are the aspirations, or rather the abuses, of that intelligence which is supposed to set the example to all inferiors. Whatever nonsense the socialists may talk about social equality, they have no reason to emulate any moral equality with those who enjoy material prosperity. However fatuous the plea that men who have *not* worked hard at inventions—devoting years, health, and strength to their perfecting—have the right to share as much in their benefits as though *their* brains and *their* toil has perfected them, it is nevertheless true that a man, once successful, lives principally for the enjoyment of his own success. His socialism becomes limited to agreeable dinner parties, with occasional cheques for coal and blankets for the poor. “Good society” is the real circumference of his socialism, when bad society does not happen to be more to his taste. Now, it is certain that we are all of us socialists in some senses, whether it be by nature or by grace; by the instinct of natural fellowship, natural amenity, or by the promptings of divine charity within the soul. A Christian family is an ideal of pure socialism. For, socialism, in Catholic sense, would mean nothing more than the affectionate interest which should animate the whole Family of God. And the fictitious socialism which is now rampant over half the world is solely the result of the world’s ignoring the Christian unity for which our Lord prayed so earnestly before His Passion. Modern socialism is a chastisement for a world’s selfishness. As Father Cathrein has well observed: “It is only the bond of Christian sentiment, of mutual love and reverence between rich and poor, high and low, which can bring about reconciliation of the social conflicts of our time.” And is there any hope of such a beautiful reconciliation? None whatever. Liberalism, in the odious sense of a dull antitheism, has appropriated the schools and colleges of most of the nations; and since it is by education, primarily, that the Catholic Church must teach the hearts—the world caring only to teach the heads—the surest of all means of “reconciliation” is taken away. If the Church had its Catholic freedom in every land, with a monopoly of schools, colleges, and universities, socialism in the modern sense could not exist; both because it would be metaphysically absurd, and because the incentives to wrath and envy would be removed. As it is, the god Mammon rules everything, so that selfishness, materialism, and conventionalism leave no play for our better natures. In England, Protestant England, which for three centuries has been teaching the Catholic Church, the barriers between the rich classes and the poor classes are so adamantine as to be absolutely impassable. By destroying all idea of the Christian family, Protestantism has split up society into units;

so that outside the immediate coterie of one's acquaintance the whole of the rest of the world is alien. It naturally follows that masters treat their servants with less regard than they treat their horses. The brutish manners of most "superiors" to their "inferiors"—two words which signify "employers" and employed"—are partly the result of a deterioration in refinement brought on by three centuries of Protestantism. Other countries, Catholic countries, have caught the infection of this vulgar modernism; and although too logical to become Protestant, they are sufficiently worldly to become vulgar, and to regard selfishness as the primary condition of prosperity. So it comes to pass that companies and commercial firms, and managing directors kill their servants with over-work and under-pay; adoring the supreme god, dividend, and correspondingly disesteeming the souls, intellects, and bodies of those who spend their lives in creating it. Hence the spirit of discontent, which the sense of life-long indignity, *plus* a contempt for the supercilious emptiness of most "superiors," naturally engenders in every honest manly nature. Socialism is not a science, it is a protest. Not one socialist in a hundred knows or cares about value-theories, or about the difference, say, between collectivism and chartism. Not one socialist in a hundred could listen, without being bored, to an academic discussion by a grave thinker on a single point of economics. The science of socialism may be understood by shrewd demagogues, but the masses do not understand it, and do not want to. *Their* socialism is from the heart, and it is very angry. It does not reason; it rebels; even hates; for the pride and selfishness of their superiors have fomented it. And therefore as this socialism is bred solely of discontent; and this discontent is bred solely of worldly selfishness; it follows necessarily that we must first remove the *cause*, before we can even begin to hope to remove the *effect*. The Catholic solution, therefore, is to try to remove the *cause*. It is to try to get back the human family to that ideal charity and simplicity which were characteristic of the first ages of Christianity. "Utopian," you will exclaim, "more Utopian than the wildest dreams of the wildest socialists!" Let this be granted, and what are the alternatives we have to choose from? On the one side, the nearer men approach to the Catholic ideal, the further they will necessarily get from rabid socialism. On the other side, the further men will get from the Catholic ideal, the nearer they will necessarily get to that utter destructiveness which we apprehend by that dread word, revolution. And since the solution is at least possible, though frightfully difficult; and the revolution is closely impending, though infinitely horrible, the Catholic Church says to the whole world, "Try Me first!"

ARTHUR F. MARSHALL.

UNIVERSITY EXTENSION OF CATHOLIC SUMMER SCHOOL.

UNIVERSITY extension is revolutionizing modern university education. It is taking deep root in every land throughout the civilized world. In England, where it had its cradle, it is making wonderful headway. France, Belgium, Italy and Germany have caught the inspiration, and in the New World the seeds of its future have been sown in the cities of Philadelphia, Boston, Brooklyn, New Orleans, St. Louis and New York.

I would not have my readers think for a moment that university extension can ever take the place of a university education in the proper sense of the word. We all admit that for the proper apprehending of facts and their relations a long course of academic and college learning is absolutely necessary. Real education is the result of time as well as effort. You cannot secure culture and training within a brief period of time, no matter how great the effort the individual may put forth. It takes time to educate the human being—it takes time to educate and discipline along moral and æsthetic, as well as intellectual lines. Moral culture can only come after years of religious training. This movement reverses the old way. It takes the teacher to the student instead of bringing the student to the teacher for a term of years. It proposes to provide the means of higher education for persons of all classes of both sexes engaged in the regular occupation of life.

The most essential requisites for the successful pursuit of this course are thoughtfulness of mind and an ardent desire for self-improvement. It is, in fact, an attempt to solve the problem of how much of what the universities do for their own students can be done for a person unable to make a university course—or according to Richard G. Moulton, of Cambridge University—"University extension means university education for the whole nation organized upon itinerant lines." Mr. Moulton makes the distinction that "school education belongs to young people, university education to adults; school education is, in the nature of things compulsory—it is administered under discipline; university education is voluntary. School education, in the nature of things, is limited, but university education is unlimited. It is not only unlimited in its range, but it has no limit of age; it belongs to a man's whole life." In England the general plan pursued has com-

bined courses of lectures, with classes formed from the audiences, for further study and research, under the directions of the lecturer. The English have also included some study and correspondence classes—thus bringing the college or university to those who could not come to the college or university—and by this means creating in the people at large an earnest desire for higher mental culture.

To New York State belong the credit and distinction of being the first State in the modern world to give its legislative support to the university extension system and provide for its official supervision by placing it under the care and patronage of the university of the State of New York. In the world's history few laws have been conceived in a higher spirit. It does not seek to plant education in certain favored spots to which the few may resort who are able to seek knowledge at points remote from home, but it means that all living in its broad territory may be the beneficiaries. It gives to every individual in the State the opportunity to pursue studies congenial to his taste, under the direction of trained teachers. Its success in the extension department during its short existence is an evidence that this new undertaking is here to stay. It is a step in keeping with the age in which we live—an age of material and intellectual progress. As in political matters every adult enjoys the privilege of living within the Constitution, so according to this extension scheme every adult person of the Empire State has the right to be within the university in the sense in which it has been defined. Therefore every ambitious adult will have an opportunity of securing additional knowledge in proportion to his attainments. All cannot profit alike, as all are not alike gifted or educated—some have ten talents, others only one—but in this movement all may enjoy the opportunity, if they so desire, of drinking from the stream of knowledge which flows from this mountain-top of our educational institutions. What we Catholics have to do is to see that the water of this great mountain stream is pure, and that its sources are not poisoned.

The extension courses of study may be arranged to suit the various demands of particular localities. Of necessity it must be made elastic so as to reach the various classes of people found in every community. As in our churches if we wish to be successful, we try to make ourselves clearly understood by our miscellaneous congregations, so in this educational movement we must be prepared to meet the various degrees of intelligence. Right here we find the great advantage of this movement—an advantage that we Catholics should not ignore. As our colleges and academies derive strength from their affiliation with any central system of supervision, so may our educational unions, our multiplied reading

circles, our numerous literary societies, be greatly aided and strengthened in their work, provided they have some similar direction and supervision. For the present we might utilize existing institutions and thus reap a rich harvest throughout the country. Wherever university extension exists, if we so request, we may have the privilege of lecture courses delivered by our most eminent lay and clerical educators under the direction and guidance of the central organization. To secure this privilege we have simply to place upon the extension list the names of our prominent writers, educators and lecturers. From this list cities and villages throughout the State, with large Catholic populations, may select their own lecture courses. It is evident that such an agency in all our large cities would be productive of great good. It would help to create public opinion on all the leading questions of the day. It would be a powerful means of breaking down prejudice, as through the extension movement, conducted on Catholic lines, our separated brethren would be more or less brought in contact with us, and would soon learn to hold us and our religion in greater respect and esteem. We could meet them in the lecture hall or in the extension class, and there would be no danger of loss of faith through the misrepresentation of our holy religion or the mis-stating of our position upon the burning questions of the hour, as our Catholic lecturers would be fully equipped to refute all false statements and erroneous principles.

How may we Catholics make this movement a success? We may learn much from those who are already in the field. I have availed myself of the privilege of obtaining from the Regent's Office, in Albany, extracts from private correspondence on this subject. I find that during the past year the lecture courses and classes conducted under the direction of the Regents in the State or New York have been successful, as the following extracts evidence:

Mr. A. O. Gallup writes: "The principal work of the year has been the arousing of interest in extension throughout the State. A regular department of university extension has been formed by the University of the State of New York, printed matter has been distributed, meetings have been addressed in various parts of the State and the movement seems to be rapidly gaining ground. The following abstracts are from reports made by various centres at the close of the year:

Yonkers.—"The response and sympathy which the work here met with was highly gratifying. The general character and standing of the work were likewise. The interest in general was marked, and our managers feel well repaid for their labors. The effect on the community cannot but be elevating. Our experience

was that the sale of tickets, though placed at only one dollar for the course of ten lectures, more than paid expenses. The audiences of the first course numbered from three to four hundred. One step at a time has led us through, and we feel that nothing of the kind has ever been attempted in Yonkers which has accomplished so much at so little cost. The influence on individuals and community has been so stimulating that we desire to carry forward the same work next year."

Rochester.—"The university extension work has been a pronounced success. We opened our lecture course on English literature with about eight hundred in the audience, of whom more than half have indicated a desire to become students. Three-fourths of our audience were wage-earners. . . . Both courses have been of great value to those attending. We shall continue our course and add to our subjects."

Ballston.—"We had our first lecture on January 23d. We had no meeting previous to that, as the organization was effected by personal visits. The course of lectures decided upon was on the History of English Literature. The most valuable result of the movement seems to be that people have become dissatisfied with their present knowledge, and are eager to go on with the work. We had thirty-seven regular members, fourteen of whom were school teachers, two lawyers, one banker, one merchant, one stenographer, the remaining being mostly ladies of leisure. Next year, we propose to put forth a great effort to reach the people in the mills and shops. Five students took the paper work, four of whom continued through the course. They all consider it by far the most valuable part of the work. The work was presented to us much as a college professor gives it to his students. Some, I think were disappointed because they expected more of an entertainment, but, in general, every one was pleased, and at the close of the last lecture there was a unanimous desire to have the centre reorganized for another year. The books loaned us by the department were of great use to us. We kept them until June 23d, and they were used all the time. This part of the work seems as valuable as any to towns where there are no literary privileges."

Binghamton.—"The Binghamton centre was organized in March, 1892. For its first course it enlisted 113 members—57 ladies, 56 gentlemen. Its membership was distributed as follows: three ministers, twenty-three teachers, two physicians, one dentist, four lawyers, three laborers, fourteen merchants, one manufacturer—the remainder being mostly people of leisure. The active membership, at \$5 a year, was the basis of our financial scheme. We made 100 active members our objective from the start. To pledge that number delayed our opening several weeks, but we felt justified in

securing the financial safety first. During our canvass we secured two fellowships at \$20. Political economy was chosen for our first course, followed by American Revolution, and Art History. Our centre has gained a measure of success because we enlisted at the beginning some good workers, who believed in university extension for Binghamton. They did and are doing much hard work without expectation of personal reward. They met with little encouragement at first. Eight of our members took the examination at the close of the first course. Over thirty signified their intention of doing so, but a severe storm and a necessary postponement of a week deterred the majority. . . ."

Watertown.—"Interest in our university extension was first aroused by means of circulation of literature on the subject, and then by a public meeting. After the centre had been formed, and the necessary financial security had been obtained, it was decided that the first course of lectures should be on American History. . . . The course was, from the start, a pronounced success. It is not too much to say that the 250 who were in attendance as students appreciated fully the value of this method of instruction, as evinced by the regular attendance, their close attention to the speaker, and their thoughtful questions at the lecture review. To many, the study of the American Revolution came in a new way, so that our first struggle as a nation was to us not only a revolution but a revelation. I think that I am not incorrect in saying that as a result of the course, a long talked-of scheme for a public library was agitated anew, and steps taken for its consummation. It should be some indication of the general interest that two courses were voted for next year."

Albion.—"The university work at Albion has been a success from the start. We first secured a guarantee fund of \$200, and then notified your department and organized. The town was thoroughly canvassed, and a good number of tickets sold. All classes were interested, and we started with over 200 at the first lecture. We sold course tickets for the ten lectures for \$2, and a single ticket for 30 cents, our total receipts being \$430. We propose to carry on the work next winter. The average attendance was 240; the number of students, 150; number doing paper-work, 50; number who took the examination, 27; 18 received certificates. Our circulating library belongs to the Union School, and is open only on Tuesdays and Saturdays. The demand for books was such that we decided to keep the library open every day and evening, except Monday evening, the night of the lecture, and Sundays. The school board added such books on American History as we needed, and the number of books drawn increased ten fold, and has kept up since the course closed. The board had added

\$800 worth of books, and we are now cataloguing the library by the Dewey system. The value of the university extension course, both to those who attended the lectures, and to the community at large, has been very great, as you can readily see from the above. People from the country, five miles distant, attended the whole course, and some of them were among those who took the examination and received certificates with honor. The demand now is, for more than one course. English literature is called for by the literary class, and American history by the general public. We must take care, however, and not undertake too much in a place no larger than Albion, which has about five thousand inhabitants. We have finally decided to have a four-page paper on general topics, with one page headed "Educational," and we can devote as much space as desired to university extension and kindred subjects."

Albany.—"Interest in university extension in Albany existed in a latent way for some time prior to the date of the first public meeting on the subject. At that meeting, however, steps were taken to organize an extension centre, and the work since that time has been a pronounced success. The managers of the centre hoped for an attendance of one hundred at our first course of lectures, but hardly dared expect more than fifty. On the evening of the first lecture there were nearly four hundred persons present; and the average during the course has been over three hundred. The course of lectures was on political economy, by Prof. Jenks, of Cornell. The value of the course is best indicated, perhaps, by the faithful attendance of the members of the class, and the deep interest which was evinced by them in the subject. The records in our office will show that twenty of the class have tried the examination. In my mind, the most valuable part of the university extension system is the discussion held before each lecture. The average attendance at these discussions was about one hundred. Our Students' Club has just started, and we shall have, without doubt, at the beginning a membership of over twenty-five earnest students. We have arranged for courses in history and literature for next year, and are assured that there will be an attendance of at least five hundred. We think that university education has come to Albany to stay."

These reports from centres of extension activity will enable us to form an intelligent idea of how the movement may be made successful from a Catholic standpoint. We can apply the principles and utilize existing institutions. Advantages similar to those granted us in New York State might be obtained in other regions through a properly directed missionary spirit of our prominent laity and clergy. What people feel strongly they express strongly.

We see this every day in religion and politics. Men and women leave home and family and friends and everything that is dear in life to labor for the salvation of souls—often regardless of life itself. Political parties exhaust their resources and wait for long weary years to secure their prize. Why should it not be so in educational matters?

The time may come when all this work that is now being accomplished by individual effort may be stimulated by some grand central organization such as the Catholic University at Washington aided by the leading educational institutions of the country, or the Catholic Summer School if it should prove to be a success. Then our reading circles, our Catholic extension courses, our educational union—in fact our parochial schools, academies and colleges—all would receive new life and stimulus from some such central bureau of direction. But until such a happy boon comes we must be satisfied with individual effort, and by every legitimate means we must prepare the way by drawing into active work our prominent Catholic laity. Catholics, too, who never had the advantage of a thorough education or who have never fully grasped the principles of Catholic philosophy, or who through association with persons not of our faith become cold and indifferent, would by such a course of instruction be much benefited. Many of them would hear for the first time the refutation of silly fabrications, that though of themselves no argument against Holy Mother Church, yet because of their silly reiteration often make weak-kneed Catholics ashamed of their religion. The honest seekers of truth outside of the Catholic church would also be greatly benefited. In every city, in every village, in every hamlet, are to be found men and women, earnest souls who are groping in darkness, eager and anxious to know the truth. The Catholic university extension scheme would be for such a great blessing. Unfortunately we Catholics are not thoughtful enough of this class of people. We are born in the faith, we are nurtured in the light and we are taught the truth of our holy religion from the cradle to the grave, whereas most of our separated brethren have never had the opportunity of knowing the truth or seeing the light. They have ears and they hear not, they have eyes and they see not. From their very infancy they have been taught to look upon Mother Church as the enemy of progress and enlightenment—a corrupt and superstitious institution that should scarcely be tolerated. From their catechism, from their Sunday-school teachers, from their home library, from their pulpit, from their religious press, they have learned to shun Catholics and to keep themselves aloof from them. They fear a Catholic as a child would fear a hobgoblin or a blue-beard, and the reason for all this they know not. But thank God

this condition of things is being changed. Our separated brethren think more kindly of us and look more kindly upon us—and when they want to know the truths of our holy faith or the practices of Mother Church they no longer seek information from biased and prejudiced minds. They are now willing to go to the fountain head from which they may learn the truth.

This is what our Catholic Summer School has been doing during its short existence and what it proposes to do in the future. It is the university extension on Catholic lines. Its session at New London last summer exceeded the brightest expectations of its founders, and convinced them that much good might be accomplished by its continuance. The large attendance, the complimentary press notices from writers of all shades of opinions, and the interest awakened in every portion of the English-speaking world seemed to demand its permanent establishment. The community at large has shown the deepest interest in the movement as one of the most advanced that has yet been made by the Catholics of the United States. The general council has been invited to examine beautiful sites for the permanent location of the school and most liberal concessions have been offered in case of acceptance. These bona fide offers express more than a business enterprise. They evidence the high opinion held by the American people of the success of their Catholic brethren in educational work. What could speak more forcibly than the following extracts from a letter received by the writer from Mr. Melville Dewey, one of the Regents of the State of New York. The question of permanent location within the limits of the State is touched upon in the following manner :

“The success of the new enterprise being assured by your experiments at New London, the most important question regarding the future is its permanent location. Those who are familiar with this kind of work will recognize that however desirable it may be to go from place to place with brief annual conventions and similar meetings, such a course would be most unfortunate for an educational institution like the Catholic Summer School. To accomplish the best results it must be fitted to its environment, it must have considerable local equipment. Every year adds something of value, which is retained permanently. Arrangements for transportation, for board and hotel accommodations, and chiefly suitable halls and educational appliances, and provisions for recreation as well as study are worked out and improved year by year in a permanent home, in a way utterly impossible if a new location is taken each year.

“In choosing this permanent home the authorities must consider geographical location, natural attractions, the charter that can be

secured, the laws to which the school must be formed and the powers and privileges granted. I believe that under every head the State of New York offers advantages over every competitor and in addition to this I am told that it happens that the warmest friends of the school and those who have offered the largest pecuniary inducements are from New York.

"Its natural attractions in climate, healthfulness, grand, picturesque or beautiful scenery, are unexcelled. It has the Adirondacks and the Catskills, the St. Lawrence and the Hudson, and a score of small but most attractive rivers; Lakes Ontario, Erie, Champlain, George, and through its centre a long series of smaller lakes which are famous for their beauty. If any prefer the cities or towns for such a school no other State boasts so many cities or so great suburban attractions.

"The strongest claim of New York, however, is its peculiar laws pertaining to higher education. The last legislation on this subject was ch. 378 to the university law, which is recognized by all as the most satisfactory higher educational legislation yet enacted. It protects and fosters such institutions as in no other State. New York alone has a distinct department in the university of the State devoted entirely to the interests of higher education; it alone has a university extension department whose officials give their entire time to advancing the interests of education carried on outside the ordinary schools and colleges, the very education which the Catholic Summer School represents. The charters granted by the regents of the university are more desirable in the powers and privileges given than those granted by the legislature of any other State. The great State library and State museum at Albany are able under the new laws to be of invaluable service to such institutions as the Summer School. New York is also the home of the Chautauqua system, which has not only a national but an international influence, and obviously there would be practical advantage in having the national Catholic institution located in the same State where it could share in every privilege granted to the older institution as a result of its fifteen years of earnest work and steady development.

Any one who doubts the validity of these strong claims for the Empire State will be convinced if he will carefully study the new university law and the working of the university departments, or if he will consult any expert educator, whether in New York or elsewhere, who has himself investigated the matter. Hundreds have made this comparison, and so far no one has for a moment questioned that New York offered to higher educational institutions the most desirable location on the continent.

It remains, therefore, for the originators and the promoters of

this great undertaking to continue the good work on a broad and a safe basis. The leading minds among the clergy and the laity must be brought into the organization so that the institution may be in every sense representative. The culture and the wealth of our best Catholics must be united in its very inception. The methods of Chautauqua and of the hundred other summer schools that are to be found among our separated brethren are not to be ignored. They have in them a lesson for us. They are useful institutions, and from their point of view they are doing much good. The committee from the general council of the Catholic summer school that visited Chautauqua last August were highly pleased with the manner in which this school was conducted. They found 8000 earnest students, from every walk of life, pursuing studies under the best teachers that could be procured.

As our Catholic laity become more numerous and acquire more wealth they will demand an educational institution of this kind. Year after year they seek rest and recreation in greater numbers, and why should they not enjoy at the same time the intellectual entertainment now enjoyed by their neighbors? It will stimulate study and good reading among our Catholic people, and will mark a new era in the history of the Catholic Church of America. It is opportune, because the whole literary world has undertaken the revision of history, and such revision is always a gain to the Church. The fog of misrepresentation and prejudice that has enveloped her history is being cleared away by our Catholic scholars who have been stimulated in every portion of the globe by the efforts in this direction of our Holy Father Leo XIII. A taste for Catholic literature will be fostered throughout the land, and our Catholic authors will be encouraged to devote their talents to the writing of Catholic books, as this movement will stimulate a taste in the people for good, sound reading. Such are a few of the advantages of university extension as carried out by our Catholic summer school.

University extension, then, whether we consider it in the reading circle, the lecture course, with its correspondence classes, or the Catholic summer school, is the bringing of the university to the people when the people are unable to go to the university. With the spread of this movement the privileges of knowledge shall be no longer for those alone able to satisfy the conditions of academic residence ; no longer for those alone who can go through years of careful preparation and devote additional years to the sole occupation of study.

J. F. MULLANEY.

EDUCATION IN ANCIENT EGYPT.

TO the brute animal nature makes a free gift of its intellectual outfit, if we may use the term. From birth instinct guides it in all its doings. Instinct points out to animals their food and their habitation, their dangers and their means of protection, their friends and their enemies; it directs them in their wanderings and migrations, in their social and political organization. Man, on the contrary, is not only born helpless and ignorant, but for the development of his physical and intellectual powers he is dependent on others. Instinct, it is true, teaches the infant to suckle and to make the first rudimentary efforts at using its senses. But beyond these first efforts the child learns as it is taught. Its parents teach the child what to eat, what to avoid, what is useful, what is dangerous, who are its friends, who its enemies. Only after a lapse of time does the baby know its mother and father, and then only because he is taught who they are. In short, most of the knowledge which instinct teaches brutes comes to man from without. Animals do not—probably cannot—educate their young; man must educate his offspring—a distinction suggesting by itself an essential difference in the intellectual constitution of man and animal.

Education, therefore, is one of man's necessities. Even the lowest savage must educate his children after his fashion. He teaches them the use of their hands and their feet, of their eyes and their ears. He teaches them to run and to leap, to climb and to swim. He instructs them in the use of the bow and the spear, the club and the tomahawk. He discloses to them the mysteries of the chase, and initiates them into the stratagems of war. He teaches them love and respect for their parents, obedience to the chief, bravery, cunning, order and industry. The mother, in her lullabys, instructs her child in the simple rudiments of music, and in her nursery tales teaches them the elements of her own conceptions of morality and her notions of a supernatural world, imperfect though these may be. It would be a waste of time to enter into further detail. Suffice it to say that education is coeval with humanity.

It is not our purpose, however, to describe the elementary home education of the savage, interesting as the task might be. Our purpose is to place before our readers a brief picture of what education was among the Egyptians, probably the oldest civilized nation of the world. By education here, we mean substantially

school education, the training of children and youth in reading, writing, arithmetic, and whatever other branches they may study to fit them for their life-work. It seems to follow, hence, that the invention of writing is a prerequisite to school education. And still we would not lay this down as an absolute rule. History acquaints us with nations which, without the use of writing, achieved no little progress in geography, astronomy, and elementary physics, not to speak of their philosophical and religious speculations. Cæsar¹ tells us that the Celts of Gaul and Britain had their Druidic schools in which writing was absolutely forbidden, though they used the Greek alphabet in business affairs, both public and private. The Greek letters the Celts received from the Greek colony of Marseilles, which was founded in the sixth century before Christ. It is a safe inference that Druidic learning must date back to the time prior to the settlement of Marseilles; no people in possession of the art of writing would be wrongheaded enough to pursue its studies, and especially its higher studies, without the aid of that art. Now, the Druids, Cæsar tells us, taught their scholars a great number of verses; so great that it sometimes took twenty years to master them. In these verses they set forth their teaching on the constellations, on the motion of the stars, on the size of the earth, and of various lands on the earth, on the power of the gods as evidenced in their action in physical nature, on their moral authority. Lastly, they taught the transmigration of souls, or, as Roget de Belloquet² interprets the passage, the immortality of the soul. The Gauls, therefore, cannot be truly said to have been without school education, though all this scientific progress was made without the use of writing.

However, here as in many other cases, the exception proves the rule, and the rule is that school education presupposes the invention of writing. Conversely it is safe to say that usually the invention of writing leads to the establishment of schools. We may therefore, look for the earliest schools among the Egyptians and Babylonians. Both these nations, were in possession of the art of writing, even at the time when history first introduced them to us. How far back their history goes, our present knowledge does not enable us to determine. Their chronology is so uncertain that all dates prior to the sixteenth century before Christ are little more than guesses. In studying the history of Egyptian education, therefore, dates mean little more than that one period precedes or follows another. The number of years before Christ of any dynasty or event in the early history of Egypt, may be incorrect by twenty or a hundred, or a thousand years, for the best Egyptologists some-

¹ Cæsar, *De Bello Gallico*, vi., 14.

² *Ethnogénie Gauloise*.

times vary to this extent in their systems of chronology. Having made this remark by way of caution to the reader, let us proceed to study the history of education on the banks of the Nile

Since the decipherment of the hieroglyphics, our knowledge of Egyptian history is based mainly on what the monuments and papyri found in Egypt by thousands, have revealed to us. These have thrown even more light on the life and manners of the inhabitants of the Nile Valley, than on their political fortunes. Happily the researches of the learned have not been unproductive of fruit in the field of education. Among the papyri that have been translated, are school books, school exercises, corrections of exercises by teachers, a collection of arithmetical and geometrical problems, besides incidental statements, elucidating the methods and progress of education in Egypt. If to these be added the reports of Greek writers, from Herodotus to the Fathers of the Church, we have a rich mine of information on this interesting subject.

The Egyptians had both elementary and higher schools. In a country where even in relatively early times hundreds of monuments were covered with lengthy inscriptions, reading must have been a common accomplishment; otherwise, why the inscriptions? Indeed we know that the temple of On or Heliopolis, the sages and teachers of whose school were extolled by all antiquity, was built by Osortasen I.¹ of the Twelfth Dynasty, the first of the Middle Empire. Temple schools, equally famous and perhaps more ancient, existed at Memphis and Thebes, while institutions of less importance, were found in the larger cities of the kingdom. But these temple schools were not, strictly speaking, elementary schools. They included an elementary course, but their fame was based on the excellence with which they taught the higher studies. But there was also elementary schools in the proper sense of the word. Maspéro² tells us that there were district or ward schools in the large cities. Plato (B.C. 400) who had visited Egypt informs us that every child in Egypt learned the alphabet, *i.e.*, to read and write and also to cipher,³ a statement which implies the existence of elementary schools for the body of the people. An inscription of the reign of the Persian King Darius (B.C. 500), to whom Egypt was subject, also proves this. Uza-hor-enpiris states: "King Darius bade me to go to Egypt to restore the schools of the hierogrammatists (the temple schools). . . . I did as his

¹ According to Egyptologists, the old empire extends from the first to the twelfth dynasty; the middle empire from the twelfth to the twentieth dynasty, and the new empire from the twentieth to the thirty first. The beginning of the twelfth dynasty is variously set down at from 2268 to 3703 B.C.; the beginning of the twentieth dynasty at from 1022 to 1293 B.C.

² Maspéro's *Egypten and Assyrian*, p. 9.

³ Plato, *Laws*, vii., p. 819 B.

majesty ordered. I selected from *their schools the children of the people*. . . . I gave them to a skilful teacher to instruct them in all kinds of work. I provided all who distinguished themselves with everything needful for scribeship according to their progress.¹ But in all probability, the Egyptian elementary schools are as old as the new empire (about 1100 B.C.), when demotic writing makes its appearance. As we have said above, these schools were found in the various districts of every large city. Thither the Egyptian boy was sent after he had reached the age of six or eight. He was dressed in the airiest of garments, a bracelet on his arm and an amulet around his neck, and perhaps a girdle. This was the scholar's uniform until he reached puberty. Girls apparently were not sent to school, though otherwise the lot of the Egyptian woman was far pleasanter than that of her Asiatic, nay even of her Greek sisters. Indeed there was little time to send them to school, for often they were mothers when they reached fourteen. Meantime they must have learned the mysteries of housekeeping, cooking, sewing, spinning, weaving. The daughters of the wealthy may have had private tuition; surely the queens regnant of Egypt, whom we meet with as early as the Third Dynasty, must have had a good literary education to fit them for the throne. But to come back to our school-boy. In school he was first taught to read. But to read Egyptian was no simple matter. Instead of our twenty-six letters the Egyptians had several hundred signs. Some of these stood for single letters, some for syllables, some for whole words. Sometimes one sign had several values (polyphones); sometimes different signs had the same value (homophones.) Lastly certain signs were not to be read at all; they served to indicate in what sense the word before which they stood was to be taken. The Egyptian student had a difficult task before him, when he began his reading lessons. The writing taught in the primary school was the demotic. It was a simplification of the hieratic, which in turn was a simplification of the original hieroglyphs. The demotic had discarded many useless symbols and being written on papyrus, not chiselled into stone, had become what may be termed a running script. The Egyptian school-boy, however, did not write on papyrus. It was too dear to be wasted. The copy was set for him on a wooden tablet or on a slate. He himself used a thin wooden tablet, covered with white or red stucco. He wrote with a reed or painted with a brush. In the British Museum there are several of these school-boy tablets, interesting mementos of Egyptian education. In the Abbot Museum also, now in the collec-

¹ Schmidt, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, i., 209. The references are to the last edition edited by Hannak.

tions of the New York Historical Society, there is a similar tablet of the age of the Ptolemies, from the tomb of a Greek teacher.¹ When the boy had made reasonable progress, he was permitted to write with black or red ink on papyrus.

The Egyptian schoolboy next wrestled with arithmetic. As early as the time of the Hyksos the foreign kings that ruled Egypt, when Joseph was sold to Potiphar, the Egyptians had a decimal system of notation, with symbols for 10, 100, 1000, up to 1,000,000. The monuments show that in common life they ciphered with the aid of the fingers. For the same purpose they used little stones also, we are told by Herodotus (about 450 B.C.), who travelled in Egypt. The Greek historian's statement is confirmed by an Egyptian papyrus of the time of Memephthat I. (about 1400 B.C.). This points to the use of the abacus, or computing board, so well known to the Greeks and Romans, and, in fact, still used in Russia and the schools of Germany. Plato was greatly struck by a method of teaching arithmetic, which he describes as follows :

" In Egypt systems of calculation have been actually invented for the use of children, which they learn as a pleasure and an amusement. They have to distribute apples and garlands, adapting the same number either to a larger or less number of persons, and they distribute pugilists and wrestlers, as they follow one another, or pair together by lot. Another mode of amusing them is by taking vessels of gold and brass and silver and the like and mingling them, or distributing them without mingling ; as I was saying, they adapt to their amusement the numbers in common use, and in this way make make more intelligible to their pupils the arrangements and movements of armies and expeditions ; and in the management of a household they make people more useful to themselves and more wide awake ; again in the measurement of things which have length and breadth and depth, they free us from that ludicrous and disgraceful ignorance of all these things, which is natural to man."¹

The passage reads almost like a description of a kindergarten, and we are again impressed with the truth that there is nothing new under the sun. The principle of object teaching, also, is found in the instruction described by Plato. Moreover, from our quotation, it seems to follow that the Egyptian in these elementary schools gained some acquaintance with surveying or the first principles of geometry. How we are to understand this will appear when we shall speak of an Egyptian school book on arithmetic which has come down to us.

¹ Mulhaff, *Old Greek Education*, p. 52.

² Plato, *Laws*, vii., 819, B. ; Jewett's *Translation*, vol. iv., p. 336.

This elementary school course probably lasted for three or four years. We have no information regarding its precise duration. The teachers were scribes, generally well advanced in years. These scribes were men of more than ordinary education. Besides the attainments of the elementary school, they must, at least, have mastered the art of correspondence and the science of accounts. But there were scribes of far deeper learning; the sons of princes and governors, nay, the Pharaoh's own children were proud of being scribes. They did not form a caste, as was formerly supposed. If gifted with unusual talent, the mechanic's boy might aspire to bear the title. The poorest parents, when they found that their son's talents warranted the step, submitted to every sacrifice to enable him to take his place in this honored class. From it came high priests, governors of provinces, architects, engineers, physicians, poets and astronomers. But by no means all scribes were scholars or writers of distinction; the majority of them were little better than correspondents and accountants. Compared with the peasants' and mechanics' lot, however, theirs was a prince's life, and when an Egyptian had once reached this proud position, he strove to transmit its advantages to his children. In Egyptian documents we can trace long generations of scribes, and it is this fact, no doubt, that gave rise to the opinion formerly held that the scribes formed a closed caste. To the scribes the school-master also belonged, though it is likely enough that often he was an unsuccessful or superannuated member of the class.

Two roads led to the scribeship—the temple schools and private instruction. The latter calls to mind the way in which the American lawyer was trained, before the rise of our law schools. The candidate for scribeship was placed in the hands of a practising scribe. In the latter's office he received and studied his tasks. But if, for instance, the master was superintending the erection of a house, the pupil accompanied him to the place where the building went on, observed how he kept the accounts of the material delivered and used, and how he gathered the matter of his reports. In the scribe's office the boy spent months in copying letters, circulars, prospectuses and accounts. Of these he understood little or nothing at first; but by degrees he acquired an insight into their meaning and remembered their form. To teach him to write letters and reports in various styles, simple, elegant, or florid, he was made to study and copy the letters or reports of acknowledged masters in the art of composition. Here is the model of a concise report, drawn up by Eumana, a famous scribe of the days of Ramses II. (19th dynasty): "I arrived at Elephantine and am carrying out my orders. I am taking an account of the mercenary foot soldiers and the charioteers of the temples, as well as of the servants and

sub-officials in the houses of his Majesty's commanders. As I shall report thereon to the Pharaoh (L. H. P.)¹, my work runs on swiftly as the Nile. Do not, therefore, be anxious on my account."² Maspéro also gives us a report written in the florid style. The scholar having copied the model, the master corrects not only his spelling, but also points out defects in the writing. After a lengthy training of this kind, the pupil at last understands the forms of the various kinds of letters, reports, accounts, etc. He has committed to memory select turns of phrase, admired for their elegance, and he is now ready to attempt compositions of his own. Again these are corrected, missing words inserted, errors of spelling and style noted. Having acquired the knowledge and skill needed for everyday use, the young man is a scribe, seeks employment, often ill-paid enough, gets married, and by the time he reaches his twentieth year he is the father of a family.

But it is time to pass to the famous temple schools of Egypt. These included an elementary course, where reading and writing were taught. The scholar learned both simultaneously, as our boys and girls do to-day. Elementary arithmetic was also studied, and at the end of the course the boy underwent an examination before he was admitted to the higher studies. It is interesting to remark that examinations, against which a crusade was started a few years ago by innovating educators and amateurs, have stood a practical test of four thousand years. It may be doubted in all modesty whether the substitutes suggested by modern Solomons will last so long.

Having passed his examination, the youth now took up the higher studies; these lasted till his sixteenth year, as is inferred from an inscription of the first prophet of the god Amon under Ramses II. He tells us that he was four years a child and twelve years a boy. Assuming that he began his studies at six, we conclude that they lasted for ten years. What did he study during this higher course? Reading, writing, and arithmetic formed its basis. But the student learned not only the demotic but also the hieratic and hieroglyphic characters. Reading, too, was carried to greater perfection. Fortunately time has spared some of their readers, if so we may call them. They were made up, not of selected passages, but of entire works, though these were not of great length. Not every boy had a reader during the reading lessons. Writing material was too scarce and written books too dear to allow such profusion. Either the roll of papyrus was

¹ The letters stand for Life, Health, Power (Egyptian, *onchu, uza, sobu*), and always follow the title Pharaoh.

² Maspéro, *Egypten and Assyrian*, p. 10.

passed from student to student, or the lesson was first dictated and copied by the boy.

Some of these reading books, we have already said, have been preserved and translated by the Egyptologist. The oldest of these, "The Precepts of Ptah-hotep" is also a part of the oldest book in the world.¹ Ptah-hotep, the author of this work, was governor of Thebes under King Assa of the Fifth Dynasty, and according to the book itself, the first born son of the king. As he was one hundred and ten years old at the time he wrote his "Precepts," and King Assa was still on the throne, there is good reason to take M. Virey's view, that the epithet "son of the king," was only an Oriental exaggeration. The book was written for the purpose of instructing those that came after him in the wisdom of the ancients. It opens with a description of old age, worthy to be set alongside of Juvenal's description, though less repellent.

"Decay falls upon man and decline takes the place of youth. Troubles weigh upon him every day; the sight fails, the ear becomes deaf; his strength passes away without ceasing. The mouth is silent; speech fails him; the mind decays, remembering not the day before. The whole body suffers. That which is good becomes evil; taste completely disappears. Old age makes a man altogether miserable; the nose is stopped up, breathing no more from exhaustion."

We subjoin a few extracts illustrating Egyptian views of morality.

"To throw obstacles in the way of the laws is to open the way to violence. . . . Inspire not men with fear, else God will fight against thee in the same manner. . . . Be active during the term of thy existence, doing more than is commanded. Do not spoil the time of thy activity. He is blameworthy, who makes bad use of his moments.

"If thou art a wise man, bring up a son who shall be pleasing to God. If he conforms his conduct to thy way and occupies himself with thy affairs as is right, do to him all the good thou canst. . . . But if he conducts himself ill, disobeys thy wish, if he rejects all counsel, if his mouth goes according to the evil word, strike him on the mouth in return. . . . If thou art wise, look after thy house; love thy wife without alloy. Fill her stomach, clothe her back, these are the cares to be bestowed on her person. . . . Do not repeat any extravagance of language. Do not listen to it; it has

¹ This is the Papyrus Prisse copied under Amenhemhat of the Twelfth Dynasty now in the National Library at Paris. The first part is a moral treatise written by a certain Kasionni under Snefre, the last king of the Third Dynasty, and therefore older than the pyramids. The last fifteen pages contain the *Precepts* of Ptah-hotep. —Maspéro, *Histoire de l'Orient*, p. 69.

escaped from a hasty mouth. If it is repeated, look without listening to it, on the ground. . . . If thou hast become great from being little, if thou hast become rich from being poor, when thou art at the head of the city, know how not to take advantage of the fact that thou hast reached the first rank; harden not thy heart because of thy elevation; thou art become only the steward of the good things of God. Put not behind thee the neighbor that is like unto thee; be unto him as a companion. . . . Distinguish the superintendent who directs, from the workman, for manual labor is little honorable, the inaction of the hands is honorable. . . . The son who accepts the instruction of the father, will grow old on that account.¹ . . . If the teachers allow themselves to be led towards evil principles, verily the people who understand them not, will speak accordingly, and that being said to those who are docile, will act accordingly. . . . Take not away a word from the ancient teaching and add not one; put not one thing in place of another.²

Such are the precepts Ptah-hotep wrote in the oldest book in the world, such the wisdom which according to his own test was to be dispensed by the teachers of Egypt.³ From a very early period, therefore, morals was taught in the Egyptian temple schools, morals based not upon speculation, but upon common sense and experience, and handed down by tradition like a sacred heirloom. How steadily flowed this stream of tradition appears from other papyri, and especially from one⁴ written under the Ptolemies, when Egypt for the last time enjoyed a kind of independence. There we read:

"Do not maltreat an inferior and respect the venerable. Do not maltreat thy wife, whose strength is less than thine, but let her find in thee a protector. Do not curse thy master before God. . . . Do not cause thy infant to suffer if he is weak, but assist him. . . . Do not play upon those that are dependent upon thee. . . . Do not go out with a foolish man. Do not stop to listen to his words."⁵

But manuals of ethics were not the only text-books studied by the temple scholars. We must not pass in silence a short treatise ascribed by Hannak⁶ to no less a person than the great Pharaoh Amenemhat I. of the Twelfth Dynasty, but said by Maspéro⁷ to be

¹ Compare the Fourth Commandment of the Decalogue.

² *Records of the Past*, series ii., vol. iii., pp. 16-35.

³ See *Records of the Past*, ii., 3, p. 31.

⁴ Louvre Papyrus, x., 9.

⁵ See Th. Devérix's translations in *Records of the Past*, series i., p. 159, f.

⁶ Schmidt-Hannak, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, i., p. 215.

⁷ *Histoire de l'Orient*, pp. 96-7. The reader will find the work translated in *Records of the Past*, 1st series, ii., p. 14.

the work of a contemporaneous scribe. It is a collection of counsels addressed by Amenemhat I. to his son Osortasen I., promising him prosperity if he will take them for his guide, and especially if he will take his father for his model. "I," the old king says to his son, "am a maker of corn, the lover of Neptra (the corn god). He granted me the rising up of the Nile upon the cultivated lands. There was no hungry creature through me, no thirsty creature through me, because all took care to do according to my words, and all my orders increased the love of my people for me."

Another ethical work of great repute is the book of Ani, a scribe who lived during the Ramesside Dynasty (the twentieth, about 1200-1250 B.C.) and wrote sage instructions for his son Khons-hotep. Ani's precepts are referred to in the poem on the Praise of learning by Duau-sa-Khaeda, as a text-book of the highest authority used in the temple school of Khennu or Silsilis. We quote some of his maxims because of their strikingly religious spirit. "Be submissive to God. Serve God. Let thine eyes contemplate God's works. He it is that smites, and that we should implore for aid. Pray humbly with a virtuous heart, whose words are quiet and secret, God will bless thy work, hear thy words, accept thy sacrifice. Be not heartless; God gives thee life. Think not ill of others. The traitor makes false charges, but God will¹ make manifest the truth. His falsehood will be brought to light and cause his fall."

It is strange that the Egyptians whose Pharaohs took so much pains to chisel on the hardest of granite endless pictures of their battles and their triumphs, civil and military, and extensive inscriptions celebrating their piety and prowess, who have left us long papyri with lists of dynasties and kings, seem to have had no idea of history, nay not even of chronicle writing. Narratives, formerly regarded as historical, are now pronounced to be romance, by all Egyptian scholars. History therefore had no place in Egyptian education. But the teachers of Thebes and On, who had a keen feeling for style, did not fail to place before their students models of narrative composition. Having no history, they took instead the romances already mentioned, some of which have come down to us and are accessible in translations, We shall mention only two, the "Story of Two Brothers," the initial incident in which greatly resembles the Biblical story of Joseph and Potiphar's wife, and the story of Saneha or Sinouhit. We have clear proof that the latter was used in the temple schools. It is the story of an Egyptian who forced to flee from his country, like Moses, takes refuge with a petty Edomite chief. He marries the Bedouin's

¹ Schmidt-Hannak, *Geschichte der Pädagogik*, i., p. 236.

daughter, and rises to great wealth and influence. But an Egyptian knew and loved but one country, the land of the holy Nile. So wealth, security, power in Edom did not satisfy the heart of Saneha. He obtains his father-in-law's consent and returns to Egypt. The Pharaoh (Amenhemat I. of the Twelfth Dynasty) receives him into favor, and the rest of the tale is the story of his success and honor in the beloved land of his birth.¹ The romance we see, was well fitted to stir feelings of patriotism in the youthful Egyptian. To this, no doubt, as well as to the elegance of its narrative style, it owed the honor of being chosen to be a school classic. Poetic literature also was cultivated in the Egyptian schools. The foremost place in the poetic literature of Egypt was held by its lyric poetry, which consists chiefly of hymns. Famous among these was a hymn to the Nile, written by the scribe Ennanna, the author of the "Story of the Two Brothers." Ennanna flourished under Ramses II. (1300-1400 B.C.). We subjoin the first of its fourteen verses.

Adoration to the Nile I
Hail to thee, O Nile!
Who manifested thyself over this land
And comes to give life to Egypt!
Mysterious is thy coming forth from the darkness,
On this day whereon we celebrate it,
Watering the orchards created by Ra (the sun God)
To cause all cattle to live,
Thou givest the earth to drink, inexhaustible one.
Path that comest down from heaven
Loving the bread of Seb and the first fruits of Neptra,
Thou makest the workshops of Ptah to prosper.²

Another hymn is addressed to the ibis-headed Thoth, the god of wisdom and the inventor of writing and other arts. Hannak thinks it may have been used in the temple schools as a prayer, though this opinion is based wholly on the text of the hymn. Here it is: "Come venerable Ibis, God, protector of Sasûnnû (Heliopolis magna), scribe of the great gods, in Unna come to me! guide me! give me experience by bestowing on me thy merits! Thy merits excel those of others; who possesses them and is skillful therein, receives an office. My many works, thou madest them. The masterpieces that are mighty and great, thou madest them. Thou preparest the way for what is not yet. Sait and Renent (the two creative principles) are with thee. Come to me; guide me, I am the servant of thy sanctuary. Let me speak with thy powers I say, and all say with me! Men's institutions and

¹ *Records of the Past*, i., 6, pp. 131-150. See also Maspéro, *Histoire de l'Orient*, pp. 98, 102 ff., and Godwin in *Fraser's Magazine*, 1865, p. 185-202.

² *Records of the Past*, 2d series, iii., p. 48. The translation is by P. Guieysse.

their greatness, Thoth made them. Men come and bring their children, to fill them with zeal for thee. Thy merits exceed all merits. Power, strength and joy to him who possesses them.

Next to these hymns didactic poetry was cultivated in the schools. We have already mentioned the poem on the Praise of Learning. It is a poem venerable for its antiquity, dating back to the twelfth dynasty (2300–3400 B. C.). Birch thinks that it may even be as old as the sixth dynasty (2700–4300 B. C.). Its author was a man whose name is read Inauf-sa-Khrat by Birch and Duanse-Kharda by Hannak. He was about to place his son Pepi at the temple school at Khennu or Silsilis, and addresses to him a poem of some ten pages, in which he excites the youth to the pursuit of letters by depicting for him the miseries of other occupations. "I have seen violence," he begins, "I have seen violence, therefore give thy heart to letters. I have seen those who labor with the hand; there is nothing beyond letters. As men dive into water, do thou plunge into the book of Ani. When I took thee to Khennu it was surely through affection for thee; a single day gained in school is gained for eternity. What is done in school is lasting as the hills. That I bid you learn quickly, bid you love, for it removes enemies." The pictures of the mechanic's life drawn by the old sage are sometimes more forcible than elegant. Who would be a blacksmith when he reads "I have seen the blacksmith at his work at the mouth of his furnace, his fingers hard like the crocodile's skin; he stinks worse than the eggs of fish." The dyer is equally deserving of pity. "The dyer's fingers stink with the smell of bad fish. His two eyes are weary with every fatigue, his hand stops not, he watches the rent of the old garment, an abomination to him are clothes." It would be an injustice to pass over the barber, though he does not fare quite so ill. "The barber shaves till night; when he eats he places himself on his elbow. He goes from street to street to seek after his shaving. He wearies his hand to fill his belly, as bees feed by their labors."¹

The reader has now some idea of the school books of the Egyptians. They are venerable for their antiquity, for many of them were written six or seven centuries before Moses was born, according to the most moderate computation. They throw light not only on the history of education but on the history of the human mind. Their importance will excuse the length of the extracts that have been given.

These works served not only as readers but were also learned

¹ Schmidt-Hannak, *G. der Pädagogik*, p. 212; S. Birch in *Records of the Past*, 1st series, vol. vii., p. 147 ff.

by heart and copied. Moreover, they served as models in the higher course of composition. The methods followed in the lower classes of the temple school no doubt were about the same as those we learned to know when we followed the instruction of the poor Egyptian boy articulated to the scribe. In the upper course the work was more ambitious and freer from drudgery. But, as in his earlier school years, the scholar's compositions were gone through by the teacher, errors, whether of penmanship, of spelling, or of composition, were pointed out on the margin, and the teacher's judgment set down at the end. The scholar's tablet in the collections of the New York Historical Society has the note, "diligently done," to praise the pupil's work. Hard-working students laid great stress upon the teacher's criticism, and insisted upon their right to be criticised. When the teacher neglected this duty he was not always thanked for it by his scholars. Witness a letter to a teacher, whose letter to him had not proved as instructive as the young man desired and respected: "I received your letter when I drove out with my mares. You have a good time, you are merry, you are getting ready to send me an answer, but you do not go to your study to read over my letter. You find that it is neither a pleasure nor a delight. Therefore thy words are confused and misleading, and all your directions wrong." If the mummy of this phenomenon could only be found its photograph might do service among careless students and—teachers. But if the Egyptian *enfant terrible* was plain spoken to his teacher when negligent, a conscientious instructor was not without honor among his pupils. We have letters which, if not dictated, must have done good to the Egyptian chiron's heart. Listen to a specimen: "Prince of scribes, heart of gold, man of eloquent lips, whose voice it is a delight to hear, fountain of godlike words, who knowest all things, man, honored by the power and the work of Safech, the servant of the lord of Sesûnnû in the hall of the book-house (Safech was the goddess that presided over libraries), diligent worker in the archives, first among thy peers, chief of thy fellow-citizens, steady stay of the young, etc." It closes with the youth's good wishes: "Mayest thou live in health and strength, rich, honored, well provided for! May nothing be denied thee that can make life pleasant. May joy and mirth ever dwell at the gates of thy ways! . . . May the gods vouchsafe that no one may rise against thee, that thou mayest not be robbed of the rewards of thy old age, etc."

But let us come back to our compositions. In the highest classes the young men not only reproduced models, but also original compositions. Of course these were criticized as well as the rest, the thoughts, arrangement and style being duly exam-

ined. Time has been kind to an old pedagogue contemporary with Ramses II., of the Nineteenth Dynasty (about 12-1250 B.C.). It has handed down to us a criticism of an essay on the theme, "A Hero." Our youthful literateur had made a gigantic effort, confused in thought, bombastic in language, plentifully interlarded with borrowed Semitic words, which seem to have been affected by Egyptian swells as some society people now affect French; in short, the essay was a concoction without sense or form. The author, however, seems to have thought he had perpetrated a masterpiece. The master's answer is full of sarcasm, and to ridicule the pupil he also uses a host of foreign words. "Your composition is decked with too many borrowed plumes. It is a gallimateres of high-flying verbiage, whose interpretation will be the reward of those who attempt it, a gallimateres that you have concocted *ad libitum*. 'I painted a champion,' say you more than once. I ask, Is there truth in your picture?" Next the teacher points out what is unnatural and unsuitable in the description. "If you are displeased with my words," he continues, "I know your heart thoroughly. A father censures, but he fully knows how to keep measure in his censure. I know you. Insignificant are your words, confused is your arrangement. You come to me wrapped in distortion, laden with faults. You distort words according to your whims . . . I have struck out the end of your composition and return your descriptions. . . . It is a *pot pourri* when you listen to it; an uneducated man cannot understand it. It is the language of a man from the marshes (Semitic), mingled with the language of Elephantine (Egyptian). As a scribe of Pharaoh you are like the water of the Nile, that fertilizes the land. . . . If you find my measures apt, you will be to us like the far-famed Uah.¹

While the Egyptian schools furnished what must be admitted to be, in many respects, a well digested language-instruction, including reading, composition, and style, grammar formed no part of the course. Indeed, the Egyptians, as far as we know at present, were not acquainted with even the elements of grammar. To us, this seems strange. Still, why should we be astonished, when we recall that Homer and Hesiod, Æschylus and Sophocles, Herodotus and Thucydides, were equally ignorant of the grammar of their own tongue? Greek, however, is a language whose many and logical forms invite to the study of grammar. In Greece, grammar was the offspring of philosophy, and especially of logic. The Egyptians were, no doubt, philosophers and thinkers, but they never worked out the systematic scheme of dialectics, which, alone, ought to immortalize the great name of Aristotle.

¹ Schmidt-Hannak, *G. der Pädagogik*, i., pp. 218-9.

Of elementary arithmetic, we have already spoken. It is natural to ask: How far did the Egyptians carry this science, and mathematics in general? We know that the Greeks, who were the disciples of the Egyptian scribes and priests, speak in terms of unstinted praise of the mathematical learning of the Egyptians. Phales of Miletus, the first Greek who computed an eclipse; Pythagoras, who discovered the theorem that the square of the hypotenuse equals the sum of the squares of the other two sides of a right-angled triangle; Anaximander, who made the gnomon or sundial known to the Greeks; Omipedes of Chios, who solved the problem of dropping a perpendicular on a straight line from a given point; not to forget Anaxagoras of Clazomense, who, Plutarch tells us, squared the circle while in prison (we shall see below how this statement is to be understood); Plato, whose knowledge of geometry embraced all that was known in his time—all these great Greek mathematicians laid the foundation of their science in Egypt. But, while they all eulogize their Egyptian teachers, we learn but little of what they had been taught. We therefore turn the more eagerly to the Egyptians themselves, to learn from them the character of their mathematical lore. Unfortunately, while the harvest of Egyptian readers has been rich, there remains but a single book on the arithmetic and geometry of the Egyptians. This is the well-known Rhind papyrus in the British Museum, called also, after its translator and explainer, the Eisenlohr papyrus. Because of the exceptional importance of this ancient mathematical treatise we shall make it the basis of our remarks on Egyptian mathematics. Its title is, "Rule to Arrive at the Knowledge of all Things Dark, . . . of all Mysteries found in Objects." This book was compiled in the year 33, day Mesori, of Ra-ā-us, King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Life-giving, on the basis of Old Works written in the time of King Amenhemat III. The scribe Ahmes is the Author." Ra-ā-us was one of the Asiatic Hyksos kings, in whose time Joseph came to Egypt. His date may be set down as about 1800 B. C. King Amenhemat III., however, a much more ancient sovereign, belonged to the Twelfth Dynasty (2300–3000 B.C.). Surely, our book is worthy of attention on account of its age alone. But, apart from its age, it is well worth studying in itself. What strikes us at first sight is the fact that, though the title promises us rules, there are few rules in the work. To-day, it would be entitled, "Problems and Solutions." It is not an elementary book on arithmetic, for it starts with fractions. When we bear in mind, that the only fractions the Romans dealt with were halves, thirds, fourths, sixths, and twelfths, and their derivatives, the old Egyptian deserves our admiration. He is afraid of no fraction, whatever its denominator. On the other hand, his method of handling fractions appear decidedly odd to us moderns. The Egyptians

turned fractions with numerators, other than 1, into the sum of two or more fractions with the numerator 1. For example, Problem I. reads as follows: Divide 2 by 3, then by 5, and so on, by all the odd numbers up to 99. His solution begins as follows: $\frac{2}{3} = \frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{6}$; $\frac{2}{5} = \frac{1}{3} \frac{1}{15}$; $\frac{2}{7} = \frac{1}{4} \frac{1}{28}$; $\frac{2}{9} = \frac{1}{6} \frac{1}{18}$, etc. That is to say, his real problem was: Turn any fraction having the numerator 2 into the sum of several fractions all having the numerator 1. He leaves out all the even denominators, for they are reduced to fractions having 1 as numerator by cancellation. We may add, that fractions with 1 as numerator were written by placing a dot over the denominator.

To see the application of this problem, with its resulting table, we shall turn to Problem 61, in Eisenlohr's translation. It is remarkable, because it is one of the few cases in which Ahmes really gives a rule. Here is our problem: "Find $\frac{2}{3}$ of a fraction; if you are asked what is $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{5}$, take its double and its sixfold, that is, $\frac{2}{3}$ of it. Do the same for every other fraction." To understand Ahmes, we must recall that $\frac{2}{3} = \frac{1}{2} + \frac{1}{6}$. Now, when he tells us to take the double of $\frac{1}{5}$, he means double the only number written in the Egyptian fraction, *i.e.*, the denominator, for the numerator was only a dot. Hence, double $\frac{1}{5}$ means $\frac{1}{10}$, and sixfold $\frac{1}{5}$ is $\frac{1}{30}$. Therefore, $\frac{2}{3}$ of $\frac{1}{5} = \frac{1}{10} + \frac{1}{30}$.

No doubt, this method of computing fractions is appallingly round about and far from clear. Our schoolboys have reason to bless, as benefactors, the nameless discoverers of our simpler methods, for Ahmes powerfully brings home to us how difficult it must have been to reach these easy methods. For let us not infer that Ahmes was, arithmetically speaking, a fool. Problem 40 will prove the contrary. We state it as in the original: "Loaves 100 to persons 5; $\frac{1}{7}$ of the first 3 the whole of persons, the two last; what is the difference?" His answer is: "Do as is done, the difference is $5\frac{1}{2}$, 1, $6\frac{1}{2}$, 12, $17\frac{1}{2}$, 23. Multiply these numbers by $1\frac{2}{3} : 1\frac{2}{3}$, $10\frac{2}{3} + \frac{1}{6}$, 20, $29\frac{1}{6}$, $38\frac{1}{3}$." What does it all mean? The problem in modern language is: Divide 100 loaves among 5 persons, so that, while each person will receive a certain number more than the preceding one, $\frac{1}{7}$ of the loaves given to the three persons having the largest shares shall equal the sum of the two smallest shares? We moderns should call in the aid of algebra to solve the question, and then would require two equations with two unknown quantities. Ahmes must have proceeded somewhat after the following fashion. Assume that A (the lowest) receives one loaf, then:

A has 1 loaf.

B has 1 loaf and 1 difference.

C has one loaf and 2 differences.

D has 1 loaf and 3 differences.

E has 1 loaf and 4 differences.

A and B have 2 loaves and 1 difference, C, D and E have 3 loaves and 9 differences.

By the terms of the problem seven times A and B's shares are once C, D and E's shares, or ..

14 loaves and 7 differences are the same as 3 loaves and 9 differences, that is to say : 14 loaves are the same as 3 loaves and 2 differences ; therefore 11 loaves are the same as 2 differences and $5\frac{1}{2}$ loaves is the common difference.

This gives Ahmes's first series 1, $6\frac{1}{2}$, 12, $17\frac{1}{2}$, 23, of which the sum is 60 not 100. But as 100 is $1\frac{2}{3}$ of sixty, he tells us to multiply the series by $1\frac{2}{3}$, which gives the correct answer.

How highly Plato and the Greeks in general thought of the Egyptians as geometers, we have seen above. Ahmes does not support these eulogies by the samples he brings us of Egyptian geometry. On the state of geometry in Egypt as a science, his book throws little light ; it does not pretend to grapple with a single geometrical theorem. But even, in his applications of geometry, Ahmes is, in a way disappointing. Take for instance, Problem 51. It demands the area of an isosceles triangle, given the length of the three sides, viz. : 10, 10, 4. His answer is 20, *i.e.* $4 \times \frac{0.1}{2}$. Of course this is wholly wrong in method, though in practice it varies only 2 per cent from the truth. Calling a , a , b , the sides of the triangle, his formula is $\frac{a}{2} \times b$; the true formula is $\frac{b}{2} \times \sqrt{a^2 - \frac{b^2}{4}}$, which, as appears at once, involves the extraction of the square root. It is likely enough that this made the trouble for Ahmes, for nowhere in his book is there any proof that he knew how to extract the square root. The other example illustrating geometry, that we shall place before our readers, involves the quadrature of the circle. To find the area of a circle, Ahmes tells us, square $\frac{8}{9}$ of the length of its diameter. Of course the result is merely approximate, but a very good approximation it is. Prof. Cantor¹ tells us that Ahme's rule gives as the value of the ratio of the diameter to the circumference $\pi = 3.1604$. The true value is $\pi = 3.14159 +$; the error is less than $\frac{2}{100}$. It does not follow, of necessity, that the application of such approximate methods implies ignorance of the true geometric theory. The Egyptian monuments furnish us the proof. About 100 B. C., 200 years after the great Euclid wrote and taught geometry at Alexandria, the geometers who surveyed the landed property of the temple of Horus at Edfu, used the very same formulas for calculating the area of triangles and trapezoids, which Ahmes laid down fifteen hundred years before. Our papyrus also shows that Ahmes, if he did not know trigonometry, followed methods of determining and measuring angles, that imply knowledge equivalent to trigonometry.

¹ *Vorlesungen über Geschichte der Mathematik*, i, p. 50.

We have now given a picture of the temple schools of Egypt, so far as they furnished what we call elementary and college education. But their scope was far more extensive than that of our grammar schools and colleges. Their programme included professional education also. Clement of Alexandria, a writer of the second century after Christ, for many years the head of the Christian catechetical school of Alexandria and the teacher of Origen, gives us in brief an analyses of the so-called 42 canonical books of the Egyptians. Their names are derived from the different grades of the Egyptian hierarchy, and the books themselves sum up all the learning of the Egyptian priests and their schools. The first two books were called the books of the Chanters; of these the former was a collection of hymns, the latter an account of a king's life. The next four books were those of the horoscopists and dealt with astronomy. Book I. treated of the fixed stars. Book II. of the motions of the moon, sun and planets. Book III. of the relative position of the sun and the moon at different times; the last book, of the heliac rise of the constellations. To the hierogrammatists were awarded the next ten books. In these were found instructions in hieroglyphical writing. Cosmography, geography, especially the geography of the Nile and its phenomena, metrology and directions for taking the inventory of temple property, education and liturgy were the themes of the ten books of the stolists or vestment keepers. To the student of pædagogy the loss of these is especially a subject of regret. Next came the ten hieratic books of the prophets. These were works on law and theology. In the thirty-six books enumerated was found the whole speculative philosophy of the Egyptians. The remaining six books, those of the pastophori, contained their medical lore.

Egyptian archæology has confirmed the account of Clement. All the sciences, mentioned by the Christian theologian, who surely had the best sources of information, archæologists think, were taught in the temple schools. Papyri have been found embodying the teaching of the Egyptians in some of these branches of human knowledge. The Ebers Papyrus, for instance, is a treatise on medicine and surgery, which, Prof. Ebers thinks, was one of Clement's six books of the pastophori. It was written by a sage of the Saïte temple school. Its contents, however, suggest no exalted idea of the Egyptian leeches. He seems to have had little more confidence in his drugs and salves than his modern brother; but he supplemented their lack of efficacy by a plentiful use of superstitious incantations. Though the Egyptian doctors disembowelled and more or less dissected the human body for the purpose of mummifying it, their knowledge of anatomy and physiology was disappointingly slim. If there were able surgeons

among them, they must at times have been disposed to anathematize their quack brethren, for some Egyptian mummies reveal broken limbs whose setting was no credit to the Egyptian Æsculapius. The medical schools, Ebers holds, were part of the temple schools, and the fact that the author of the Ebers Papyrus was a Saite priest, seems to speak for his view. Maspéro, on the contrary, thinks that medicine was taught in separate professional schools. This view is supported by Clement's enumerating the medical books apart from the other works that constituted the wisdom of the Egyptian schools. Moreover, as the paraschites or embalmers were classed as scribes and physicians, and as their training involved the maiming of the human body, which the Egyptians held superstitiously sacred, it is hard to admit that they would allow the practical teaching of their art, in the sacred halls of their temples. But be that as it may, so much is certain, that medicine was systematically taught in Egypt, when in Babylonia and Greece, the last resort of the sick man was to have himself carried to the market place and treated according to the empirical suggestion of the good natured passer-by.

Law, too, we infer from Clement, was taught by the scribes of the temples. That the Egyptians had a well-developed system of law is certain, though in this department they were certainly not as systematic as the Babylonians. Still, we know little of the principles that underlay their legal system, nor of the way in which law was taught. From the Judicial Papyrus of Turin¹ it appears that even conspirators against the king had a regular trial before a commission appointed by the king, and that a record was kept at least of the indictment and of the decision. All this implies a regular procedure, and set legal principles. Among the latter, we learn from the Turin Papyrus, was the rule that any one, aware of the intention of somebody else to commit a capital crime, and not making known the fact to a magistrate, became an accessory, and was punished with death like the principal.

The profoundly religious spirit of the Egyptian people, and their complicated mythology, might not, in themselves, justify the inference that theology, and, therefore, philosophy, formed an important part in their system of university education. The Romans, as long as they remained uninfluenced by Greek philosophy, were imbued with deep religious feelings. Almost every one of their daily actions, they believed, was under the control of some greater or lesser god or goddess; still, their religion was purely practical. But in Egypt, the prominence given to the doctrine of the immortality of the soul, and of its future reward or punishment, was the

¹ *Records of the Past*, series i., vol. viii., p. 53 ff.

fecund seed of moral and religious doctrine, and of philosophic speculation. Not a few distinguished authorities incline to the view that the priests of Egypt, beside the grotesque polytheism they taught to the people, had an esoteric system for themselves, and that this system was monotheistic. There are strong reasons for holding this view; but, as the best Egyptologists have not yet come to an agreement on this question, the arguments are not decisive. Of the religious books of the Egyptians, the most important that has come down to us is the "Book of the Dead." That it was used in their schools we do not know. We have, also, a number of Egyptian hymns, some of which were undoubtedly used in the schools, and quite a number of works on morals, of which specimens have been given above. Their ethical system, as the reader may infer from the extracts given above, was of a practical character, and included the chief points of natural morality.

Astronomy, also—and astronomy in Egypt included astrology—was taught in the temple schools. Of the details of this science, as taught by the sages of Thebes, and On, we learn but little from Egyptian sources. As the Sothis period of the Egyptians is the cycle of 1460 years, after which the year of 365 days and the year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days coincide again astronomically, it is certain that, at least 2000 years before Christ, the Egyptians knew the year of $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, which was the basis of the Julian calendar. The minutely correct orientation of the great pyramids of Ghizeh show that they had an accurate knowledge of the four cardinal points, and therefore of the more remarkable constellations, in the days of Khufu, Khafra, and Meukesos, that is to say, in the time of the Fourth Dynasty. The Greeks speak in the highest terms of the astronomers of Egypt. Among the Greeks themselves, Eratosthenes, who first calculated the circumference of the earth, was a lecturer at the Museum of Alexandria under Ptolemy Evergetes (225 B.C.). Hipparchus, perhaps the greatest astronomer of antiquity (150 B.C.), also resided at Alexandria, according to Delaure. It is natural, then, to infer that these great Greek astronomers owed their success, in part, to the many Egyptian observations that they had the opportunity to consult at Alexandria. We must not forget to state, that the precession of the equinoxes was probably not unknown to the Egyptians.

That geography, both local and cosmical, was taught in the temple schools we deduce from the statement of Clement of Alexandria; what were the nature and methods of the instruction given have not been ascertained thus far. Engineering, too, must have been taught, and scientifically taught. The great temples, and the colossal monoliths, to transport which offers no slight difficulties to the modern engineer, proves the fact. But again, we are ig-

norant of Egyptian theories and methods of teaching. The sciences of chemistry, physics, and biology were unknown to the Egyptians, at least before the age of the Ptolemies. Isolated facts, no doubt, they observed, but they did not weave them together into general laws.

Lastly, we come to the fine arts, and first of all to music. Diodorus informs us that the Egyptians did not include music in the education of their children, because of its effeminating influence. Plato, on the other hand, asserts that the youth of Egypt were taught beautiful melodies, determined by strict laws; these melodies, so went the tradition, were the gift of Isis, and were so sacred that no changes in them were permitted. The monuments teach us, that in their liturgical, as well as their military processions, choruses of singers and musicians formed a prominent feature, and that the charms of music added zest to the pleasures of the social circle. Harps, lyres, guitars, tambourines, single and double pipes and flutes, are seen depicted on their monumental bas-reliefs. Some harps of the time of Ramses II. (Nineteenth Dynasty) were found at Thebes, and their construction is so perfect that, according to Mr. Bruce, they alone prove, beyond controversy, that when they were made, geometry, drawing, mechanics, and music were in a flourishing condition on the banks of the Nile. Whether music was taught in separate schools, or formed a feature in the curriculum of the temple schools, we cannot determine by direct testimony. From Plato's words, however, as well as from the use of music for liturgical purposes, we are inclined to infer that sacred music, at least, was taught there.

The temples of Egypt, its monuments, its sculptures, and its miniatures, are so numerous and so venerable, that we can have no doubt that architecture and the arts of design were carefully taught in the land of the Pharaohs. This conclusion is confirmed by the fidelity with which generation after generation carried out the artistic traditions of its predecessors. Schools of art in the modern sense, that is to say, schools composed of the pupils and imitators of some great master, will hardly account for the persistent uniformity that characterizes Egyptian art for more than two thousand years. This uniformity is most easily explained, if we assume that architecture, sculpture, and design were subjects taught in the great schools in which the priests and scribes handed down the wisdom of the Egyptians to so many generations. Nor ought we to be surprised at this. The great architects of the Middle Ages, the men that designed the cathedrals of France, and the minsters of England learned their art in the monastic schools. The intelligence and care of modern archæologists enable us to obtain at least some idea of the manner in which artists were

trained on the Nile. To M. Maspéro, above all, we owe this knowledge.¹ Egyptian draughtsmen, he tells us, taught by routine, not by theory. Nothing that remains of their art justifies the belief that they had a canon of proportions based on the length of a man's hand or foot. The master placed a model before the scholar, who copied it again and again, till the copy was perfect. As papyrus was too costly, the scholar's first sketches were made on slabs of limestone, on boards covered with white or red stucco, or on the backs of useless manuscripts. Instead of a brush, he used a reed whose delicate fibres separated after being soaked in water. The colors generally used were black and red, cakes of which were kept on the painter's palette. Palette in hand, the student squatted, cross-legged, before his copy; his wrist was unsupported while at work. The master corrected faults in red ink. In transferring designs from papyrus to the wall, both the model and the wall were divided up into the same number of squares; by enlarging the squares on the wall, the model could be proportionately enlarged to any desired size. In the squaring of the surface to be covered, the reader will recognize an expedient not unknown to modern times.

Sculpture was taught no less systematically than drawing. M. Maspéro has given us a graphic description of the training of an Egyptian sculptor: "As soon as the learner knew how to manage the point and the mallet," he tells us, "his master set him to copy a series of graduated models representing an animal in various stages of completion, or a part of the human body, or the whole human body, from the first rough sketch to the finished design. Every year these models are found in sufficient number to establish examples of progressive series."² Not a few models for the study of the round have come down to us. There were separate models for the different parts of the body. If a complete statue was desired, these parts were joined together. Some models are plaster casts, but before the Ptolemaic era, sandstone was oftenest used for the purpose of making models. Usually these models represent the portraits of the Pharaohs, and are cubes measuring about ten inches each way. "The work was begun by covering one side of a cube with a network of lines crossing each other at right angles; these regulated the relative position of the features. Then the opposite side was attacked, the distances following the scale on the reverse face. On the first cube a mere oval was designed, a projection in the middle, and depressions to the right and left, indicating the nose and eyes. As we pass from cube to

¹ See Maspéro, *Egyptian Archaeology*, pp. 164-5.

² Maspéro, *Egyptian Archaeology*, p. 192.

cube, the forms become clearer and the face emerges by degrees. The limits of the contours are marked off by parallel lines cut vertically from top to bottom. Then the angles were cut away and smoothed down to bring out the face. Gradually the features became disengaged from the block. . . . When the last cube is reached there remained nothing to finish save the details of the head-dress and the basilisk on the brow."¹

Our picture of Egyptian education would be incomplete without a few words on the discipline of the temple schools. The Egyptian parent did not spare the rod. When the mason, tired with toil, returned home at nightfall, Duan-Le-Kharda tells us, he sought relief for his weary body by birching his sons. Even Ptah-hotep, we have seen, advises the father to strike his impudent son on the mouth. In the schools the discipline was paternal. In a teacher's letter to his pupil we find the following passage: "Write diligently and never be lazy, or you will be well thrashed. . . . Do not take a day of rest or you will be beaten. Young men have backs; they listen when they are beaten." Another teacher addresses the following homily to his scholar: "You are like an ass that is beaten every day; you are like a stupid negro that is brought for tribute. The vulture is made to perch, the falcon taught to fly; I will make a man of you, you rascally scamp. Mark that." These classical lectures were written in the days of the Nineteenth Dynasty, when discipline and study seem to have been on the decline. This fact is strikingly illustrated by a letter written to Ventaur, a namesake of the author of the famous poem on the victory of Ramses II. at Kadesh, if indeed it was not the poet himself. "I hear," says his teacher, "that you have given up science, and roam up and down the streets, frequenting beer-houses. Whenever you drink beer, it deprives you of reason, and your mind is weakened. You are like a broken rudder, like a chapel without its god, like a house without bread, whose walls totter and whose beams shake. . . . Would that you knew that wine is a horror, then you would swear off the *shudek*-drink, then you would not give your heart to cool drinks, and you would forget the *tenreka*." But while the rod and the lecture were held in true honor, the master did not forget to influence his pupils by moral suasion. We have already seen that among the books read in school were poems setting forth the value of learning and the advantages of education. The scribe *Ani* and old Duan-Le-Kharda again and again compare the blessings of the scribe's lot with the hardships of the mechanic's life. No doubt the teachers enlarged on this theme, and impressed on their scholars the necessity of hard work

¹ Maspéro, *loc. cit.*, p. 195-6.

² Schmidt-Hannak, *Geschichte der Erziehung*, I., 230-1.

in order to prosper. As we have seen above, these admonitions, at least in some cases, bore rich fruits.

The temple schools were open to every Egyptian youth. Neither the scribes nor the priests formed a hereditary caste. Still we must not imagine that the children of the lower classes formed a large proportion of the students in the temple schools of Memphis and Thebes, of On and Khemm. Education was too expensive to warrant such a view. These schools were boarding schools, and boarding schools, even to-day, make heavy demands on the father's purse. From a passage in the Harris papyrus we may judge of the sacrifice imposed on the parents of the boy sent to be educated at these famous high schools. If the father of the student has five slaves, the papyrus tells us, he must give up three of the five to pay for the boy's education. Sometimes, however, day scholars, also, were admitted to the temple schools. In this case the boy returned home after school hours and his midday meal was brought to him. "Your mother," says the wise Ani to his son, Khons-hotep, "went to school, and while you were taught in the scriptures, she came every day to your teacher bringing the bread and the beer of her house."¹ Then he bids him never forget all he owes to his mother. However, the day scholars were the exception at the temple schools, which were primarily and chiefly boarding schools. This is worth remarking, as we do not find similar schools in Greece and Rome except in the case of the Neo-Pythagoreans, who are said to have modelled their schools on those of the Egyptians. It is the opinion of very good authorities that the Neo-Pythagorean schools, to a certain extent, served as the models of the monastic schools of the Middle Ages, and thus our own boarding schools may be traced back through these links to the schools of Thebes and Heliopolis.

That the sages of Egypt had their educational theories we may safely infer from Clements's statement. Some of the ten books of the Stolists, it will be remembered, treated of instruction and education. But their theories on education, like those on morals, were probably of a very practical character. Duan-Le-Kharda and Ani promise the student a life of comfort as his reward. The hymn to Thoth tells him that offices are the reward of learning; and Amen-m-aut, the most learned man and chief librarian of Ramses II., writes to his disciple, Pentaur: "The scribe is free from all servile work, from toil in building, and he wields neither hoe nor shepherd's crook." Lofty idealism was no fault of the Egyptian sage. After all, Duan-Le-Kharda was the most idealistic of all these educators. "I taught you to love literature as

¹ Maspéro, *Ägypten und Assyrien*, p. 16.

your mother," says he. "I placed her beauty before your eyes. . . . Whoever has sought to profit by her since childhood will be honored. . . . Surely, when I took you to Khemm (Silsilis) I was led by affection; if you gain a day at school it is for eternity. The work done there is as lasting as the hills."

What was the relation of the state to the schools of Egypt? Since even the Persian Darius, as King of Egypt, was so keenly interested in the temple schools on the banks of the Nile, the native sovereigns surely gave them even more care and attention. The Pharaoh was himself a god and necessarily had a sharp eye to the honor and well-being of his fellow-gods. Now the schools were but parts of the temples, and the teaching in a manner must have been looked upon as a part of worship. The teachers were priests. Nay all the Pharaohs of the Twentieth Dynasty were themselves priests. Besides the schools were necessary to the state. Without them the government could find neither competent judges nor able engineers and architects, not to speak of physicians to heal or embalm them, and artists to glorify their exploits. But in a land, dependent for its very life on the regulation by its engineers of the water supply furnished by the sacred Nile, it was a paramount duty of the government to provide the training needed by the engineer. How far the Pharaohs were interested in the elementary schools it is more difficult to determine. It may well be, that in Egypt, as in early Greece and Rome, the elementary schools were the private undertakings of the teacher. Still the inscription of Darius's commissioner, Uza-hor-enpiris, cited above, indicates that the government claimed the right to inspect them and draft thence scholars for the temple schools. The Ptolemies, it is certain, maintained the great university and libraries of Alexandria. So far as the libraries are concerned we can prove that they only followed the traditions of the native Pharaohs. As early as the Sixth Dynasty, more than 1000 years before Moses, one of the great dignitaries of the court was the "keeper of the book-house." One of the most learned men of a later age, was Amen-in-aut, chief librarian of Ramses II. Ramses II., according to some scholars, was the Pharaoh, who, as Diodorus relates, built a great library (the Ramessum) and on it placed the inscription, "Remedy of the soul" (*φύλης φάρμακον*). All these facts indicate the great interest of the Pharaohs in learning and the schools, and show how much care they devoted to them.

Such is a picture of education in Egypt as revealed to us by the native records. That so far back in remote antiquity, some four thousand or more years ago, there should have been schools at all, surprises many who think the world's enlightenment began with the nineteenth century. That the sages of On and Thebes dis-

covered and applied so many correct principles of pedagogy, claims the admiration of every thinking student of history and philosophy. They recognized the principles of progressiveness in instruction and applied it to language teaching; they knew the advantage of teaching reading and writing simultaneously; they had devised examinations as tests of knowledge, they keenly appreciated style, they had a judicious system of correcting compositions, they anticipated the principles of object teaching and the kindergarten in their method of teaching arithmetic; they not only cultivated drawing and sculpture, but devised clever and progressive methods of instruction in those arts, and last, but not least, they taught their youth sound and wise principles of morals. When we bear in mind that not a little of the wisdom of the Egyptians, both in substance and in the methods of communicating it has come down to us, through Moses on the one hand and through the sages of Greece on the other, the Christian student cannot fail to be interested in the remotely distant education and educators of the land of the sacred Nile.

CHARLES G. HEBERMANN, PH.D., LL.D.

Scientific Chronicle.

SYSTEMS OF NUMERATION.

A PLEA FOR THE DUODECIMAL.

FOR many years we have been longing for the *Duodecimal*. Ever since we first came to know of his beauty, his virtues and his power, we have been yearning to see him established in his rightful place, and to see his more successful but less deserving rival, the *Decimal*, driven out. We still remember the backaches, the headaches, the heartaches, and yet other aches, which we have owed, directly or indirectly, to the enthroned tyrant, and we have hoped to see the world, one day, set free from him. Must we ever hope in vain? Efforts have indeed been made, from time to time, to start this revolution; but obstacles, put in the way by those who should have known better, selfish indifference on the part of those who could have accomplished much, but who would not, timidity on the part of those who have never learned to dare, have caused the great work to be left undone. Archimedes is credited with the saying: "Give me a lever long enough and I will move the world." But it is a pretty hard world to move, and we would bespeak a goodly number of levers, long and strong, with plenty of power at the other end.

To drop unprofitable metaphors, we would say, in plain terms, that we deem it high time to throw aside our *decimal* system of numeration and to adopt, in its stead, the *duodecimal*. It is important for our own sakes, but especially, and very much more important for the sake of posterity, that this be done, and that it be done quickly; for, unless it be done soon, it will ere long be too late.

We cannot join battle immediately, however, but must clear the way by a little previous reconnoitering, taking, as it were, a general view of the whole field and of the enemies to be encountered; we must also try to dispose, sweetly if we can but strongly anyhow, of any lesser foes who might be a hindrance to the main action. To do this we will have to recall to the minds of our readers, certain elementary ideas concerning arithmetical notation in general, and a few of the systems of notation in particular.

NOTATION.

Notation in general may be defined as the art of expressing numbers by means of written symbols; while a *system* of notation is a particular method of doing this.

THE UNAL SYSTEM.

In order to express a number, say five, we may put down five separate marks of any kind, as I I I I I. In that case, each mark would stand

for *one* and nothing else. For want of a better name we have ventured to coin a word for the time being, and to call this method the *unal* system. Whether any people ever employed it for general business transactions or not, we are unaware. It is however in use even now, though only to a very limited extent, in keeping tally when the things to be recorded come along one by one, as in marking the points in certain games, or the number of barrels, boxes, etc., swung into the hold of a ship. It is very simple in this respect, that only *one* character, figure, symbol, digit (call it what you will) is required. But no people who had much recording to do could have long stuck to such a method. Its grave defect is that, for any but the smallest numbers, the results become unwieldy.

Let any one undertake, for the sake of experiment, to set down *a million* by this method. On an average he could make conveniently about two marks per second. At this rate he would have to work steadily eight hours a day for more than seventeen days; and, allowing, what is pretty liberal, 2500 marks to the page, he would cover 400 pages. When done, he could read it, in the *unal* way, only by repeating *one, one, one*, etc., till he had reached the million, while the victim who had been forced to listen would not have the faintest scintillation of an idea as to what the whole thing meant.

Or, suppose a professor of astronomy, in the good old, simple, *unal* days, had, by some means or other, come to the knowledge that the sun is distant from the earth ninety-odd millions of miles, and that he wishes to communicate that scrap of information to his pupils. To get it on the blackboard would take, under the conditions stated above, between four and five years, and if his blackboard were four feet wide, it would have to be more than a mile long.

We can hardly conceive of anything more potent than such a system of numbers as *a means of stunting the human mind*. Nothing that we know of could even pretend to compete with it, except perhaps our present, chaotic system of English spelling; and even that, bad as it is, would be left far behind; though, being the sole (soul, sowl, sol, soughl, soal, psoul, psoughl, psol, psoul, psowl . . .) competitor, it might well be adjudged a second prize. If the world had been restricted to the *unal* system, it could scarcely have been civilized, at least arithmetically.

THE BINAL SYSTEM.

Let us now pass to the consideration of some other possible systems. The first step we make out of the quagmire of the *unal* system (which can hardly be called a system at all), is into the *binal* system. Here we make use of two marks, or symbols (o and 1), the former of which (the o), when standing alone, represents no value whatever, the second of which (the 1), when standing alone, means *one*. But just here, the influence of *system* comes in; for, the value of the symbol 1, when used in conjunction with other 1's or with other o's, depends on its place in the line; and the influence of the o consists in keeping the 1's in their proper places. Now the pith of the *binal* system is in this, that our sym-

bol 1, when moved one space to the left of its primal position, has twice its fundamental value; when moved another space, twice that; and so on, indefinitely. Very poetical, you may say, but somewhat obscure. Let us try to illuminate it a little.

To do so we will take a line of dots, as which represent nothing except positions. Now, if our symbol 1, is placed on the right-hand dot, thus . . . 1, it means simply *one*. If placed on the next dot (. . 1 .) it will have a value of *twice one*, or what we call *two*. If placed on the next dot (. 1 . .), it will be *twice two*, or what we call *four*; and if placed on the next (1 . . .), it will be *eight*; and so on, increasing in a two-fold ratio by every move from the right towards the left. Strictly speaking we have no right to use the word *two*, because that supposes we have a symbol whose name is *two*, whereas, the number *two* is not expressed in this system by a symbol, but by a combination, and the name of the combination should be drawn from the components. But it matters little, as we do not intend to set the *binal* system up for use, and our common decimal system even, is not scientifically correct on this point.

The ratio (two), made use of in this system, is the *radix*, the *base* of the system. In what precedes we may notice two things: first, that the dots on the left of the 1 are serving no useful purpose, and may be omitted; second, that the mean, miserable, little dots might be mistaken for fly-specks, or *vice versa*, and that might be the cause of serious errors. So we round each of them out into a full o, big enough to command respect, and to keep the little *ones* in their proper places. In this system therefore, the combination 10 (which should be read, *one-naught*) means not *ten* but *two*. So 11 (one-one) means *two* and *one*, or our *three*; 101 means *five*; 1111 means *eight* and *four* and *two* and *one*, or *fifteen*.

For the sake of comparison, and as a starting-point for those who wish to investigate this matter further, we give, later on, a table showing the way of expressing numbers from zero to a hundred in several systems. We remark in the meantime, however, that the *binal* system possesses the advantage over the *unal* of greater conciseness. To express a *million* in the *unal* system would require, as we have seen, a million marks, while in the *binal* system it is accomplished by the use of only twenty. This is better, but it is still too bulky for convenient handling.

In this system the usual operations of arithmetic would, however, be ideally easy, so much so that it has been suggested that it might be worth the while to translate the numbers from our *decimal* system to the *binal*, perform the required operations, and then translate back again. We are afraid that the easiness of the work would hardly compensate for its extra length. The rules for translating from the decimal system to any other, and *vice versa*, will be given below.

THE TERNAL SYSTEM.

In the *binal* system, just described, we had need of two symbols; in the *ternal* we will need *three*. Let them be o, 1, 2, and let them have

the intrinsic values of *zero*, *one*, *two*, respectively. The essence of the *ternal* system is in this, that the value of 1 or 2 is increased *three*-fold at each removal through one space towards the left; or, what is saying the same thing, that the *base* of the system is *three*. The value of the combination 10 (one-naught) is therefore *three*; of 20 (two-naught), six; of 100 (one-naught-naught), *nine*; of 212 (two-one-two), twenty-three. A million would require thirteen places to be filled with the proper combination of *zeros*, *ones* and *twos*. This is again an improvement, but we hanker after something better yet.

THE QUATERNAL SYSTEM, ETC.

It ought to be beginning to dawn on us by this time that we may take any whole number whatever as a base, and construct the corresponding system on the lines indicated above. The number of symbols needed in each case will be equal to the number expressed by the *base*; thus, using the symbols with which we are already familiar, we will have, for

The unal system, the symbol 1.

The binal system, 0, 1 (*two* symbols).

The ternal system, 0, 1, 2 (*three* symbols).

The quaternal system, 0, 1, 2, 3 (*four* symbols).

The quinqual system, 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, etc.

The sextal system, 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

The septimal system, 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6.

The octaval system, 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.

The nonal system, 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8.

The decimal system, 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9.

The undecimal system, 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, t.

The duodecimal system, 0, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, t, l.

Our present usage allows us only *ten* symbols, so that for the undecimal system we need an extra symbol. Its *name* is *ten*, so that provisionally, until a new sign has been agreed on, we take the initial of *ten*, *i.e.*, t. For the duodecimal system we need yet another; its *name* is *eleven*; so we take the *l*, not the *e*, because that *e* is too small to stand up in a row of numerical symbols, and besides *l* will stand very well for 'leven. We might go on indefinitely, but since we have set our heart on the duodecimal system, it will be correct to stop *there*.

It is clear that the greater the value of the number used as a base, the more concise the expression, for any number larger than that base, will tend to be. As an illustration of this fact, we will translate *a million* into its equivalent expression in several of the systems. We need:

For the unal, a million separate digits.

For the binal, twenty digits, viz., 11110100001001000000.

For the ternal, thirteen digits, viz., 1212210202001.

For the quaternal, ten digits, viz., 3310021000.

For the quinqual, nine digits, viz., 224000000.

For the sextal, eight digits, viz., 33233344.

For the septimal, eight digits, viz., 11333311.

For the octaval, seven digits, viz., 3641100.

For the nonal, seven digits, viz., 1783661.

For the decimal, seven digits, viz., 1000000.

For the undecimal, six digits, viz., 623351.

For the duodecimal, six digits, viz., 402854.

For the centesimal, four digits, viz., 1000.

In the next table we may see at a glance the relation between the first twelve systems, through all the numbers up to one hundred inclusively. They look formidable enough, but it is only in looks, and need merely to be pondered on, in the light of what we have already seen, in order to be appreciated. There are doubtless many readers of the QUARTERLY who will just revel among the beauties of these seemingly prosaic columns of figures.

The first vertical row consists merely of our common numbers in regular order, such as we have been fed on from childhood up, or down. They have been placed *there* as a guide to keep us straight, but are found again in their proper place further to the right. Reading horizontally across the page, each number means exactly the same thing, but as a general thing the *names* would be different.

EQUIVALENT EXPRESSION FOR ONE HUNDRED NUMBERS IN VARIOUS SYSTEMS.

	Unal.	Binal.	Ternal.	Quaternal.	Quinqual.	Sextal.	Septimal.	Octaval.	Nonal.	Decimal.	Undecimal.	Duodecimal.
(0)	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
(1)	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I	I
(2)	II	IO	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
(3)	III	II	IO	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3	3
(4)	IIII	IOO	II	IO	4	4	4	4	4	4	4	4
(5)	IIIII	IOI	12	II	IO	5	5	5	5	5	5	5
(6)	IIIIII	IIO	20	12	II	IO	6	6	6	6	6	6
(7)	etc.	III	2I	I3	12	II	IO	7	7	7	7	7
(8)	etc.	IOOO	22	20	I3	12	II	IO	8	8	8	8
(9)	"	IOOI	IOO	2I	14	13	12	II	IO	9	9	9
(10)		IOIO	IOI	22	20	14	13	12	II	IO	t	t
(11)		IOII	IO2	23	2I	15	14	13	12	II	IO	I
(12)		IIIO	IIO	30	22	20	15	14	13	12	II	IO
(13)		IIOI	III	3I	23	2I	16	15	14	13	12	II
(14)		IIIO	II2	32	24	22	20	16	15	14	13	12
(15)		IIII	120	33	30	23	2I	17	16	15	14	13
(16)		IOOOO	12I	IOO	3I	24	22	20	17	16	15	14
(17)		IOOOI	122	IOI	32	25	23	21	18	17	16	15
(18)		IOOIO	200	IO2	33	30	24	22	20	18	17	16
(19)		IOOII	20I	IO3	34	3I	25	23	2I	19	18	17
(20)		IOIOO	202	II0	40	32	26	24	22	20	19	18

EQUIVALENT EXPRESSION—CONTINUED.

	Unal.	Binal.	Ternal.	Quaternal.	Quinqual.	Sextal.	Septimal.	Octaval.	Nonal.	Decimal.	Undecimal.	Duodecimal.
(21)		10101	210	111	41	33	30	25	23	21	1 ^t	19
(22)		10110	211	112	42	34	31	26	24	22	20	1 ^t
(23)		10111	212	113	43	35	32	27	25	23	21	1 ^t
(24)		11000	220	120	44	40	33	30	26	24	22	20
(25)		11001	221	121	100	41	34	31	27	25	23	21
(26)		11010	222	122	101	42	35	32	28	26	24	22
(27)		11011	1000	123	102	43	36	33	30	27	25	23
(28)		11100	1001	130	103	44	40	34	31	28	26	24
(29)		11101	1002	131	104	45	41	35	32	29	27	25
(30)		11110	1010	132	110	50	42	36	33	30	28	26
(31)		11111	1011	133	111	51	43	37	34	31	29	27
(32)		100000	1012	200	112	52	44	40	35	32	2 ^t	28
(33)		100001	1020	201	113	53	45	41	36	33	30	29
(34)		100010	1021	202	114	54	46	42	37	34	31	2 ^t
(35)		100011	1022	203	120	55	50	43	38	35	32	2 ^t
(36)		100100	1100	210	121	100	51	44	40	36	33	30
(37)		100101	1101	211	122	101	52	45	41	37	34	31
(38)		100110	1102	212	123	102	53	46	42	38	35	32
(39)		100111	1110	213	124	103	54	47	43	39	36	33
(40)		101000	1111	220	130	104	55	50	44	40	37	34
(41)		101001	1112	221	131	105	56	51	45	41	38	35
(42)		101010	1120	222	132	110	60	52	46	42	39	36
(43)		101011	1121	223	133	111	61	53	47	43	3 ^t	37
(44)		101100	1122	230	134	112	62	54	48	44	40	38
(45)		101101	1200	231	140	113	63	55	50	45	41	39
(46)		101110	1201	232	141	114	64	56	51	46	42	3 ^t
(47)		101111	1202	233	142	115	65	57	52	47	43	3 ^t
(48)		110000	1210	300	143	120	66	60	53	48	44	40
(49)		110001	1211	301	144	121	100	61	54	49	45	41
(50)		110010	1212	302	200	122	101	62	55	50	46	42
(51)		110011	1220	303	201	123	102	63	56	51	47	43
(52)		110100	1221	310	202	124	103	64	57	52	48	44
(53)		110101	1222	311	203	125	104	65	58	53	49	45
(54)		110110	2000	312	204	130	105	66	60	54	4 ^t	46
(55)		110111	2001	313	210	131	106	67	61	55	50	47
(56)		111000	2002	320	211	132	110	70	62	56	51	48
(57)		111001	2010	321	212	133	111	71	63	57	52	49
(58)		111010	2011	322	213	134	112	72	64	58	53	4 ^t
(59)		111011	2012	323	214	135	113	73	65	59	54	4 ^t
(60)		111100	2020	330	220	140	114	74	66	60	55	50
(61)		111101	2021	331	221	141	115	75	67	61	56	51
(62)		111110	2022	332	222	142	116	76	68	62	57	52
(63)		111111	2100	333	223	143	120	77	70	63	58	53
(64)		1000000	2101	1000	224	144	121	100	71	64	59	54
(65)		1000001	2102	1001	230	145	122	101	72	65	5 ^t	55
(66)		1000010	2110	1002	231	150	123	102	73	66	60	56

EQUIVALENT EXPRESSION—CONCLUDED.

	Unal.	Binal.	Ternal.	Quaternal.	Quinqual.	Sextal.	Septimal.	Octaval.	Nonal.	Decimal.	Undecimal.	Duodecimal.
(67)		1000011	2111	1003	232	151	124	103	74	67	61	57
(68)		1000100	2112	1010	233	152	125	104	75	68	62	58
(69)		1000101	2120	1011	234	153	126	105	76	69	63	59
(70)		1000110	2121	1012	240	154	130	106	77	70	64	5†
(71)		1000111	2122	1013	241	155	131	107	78	71	65	5†
(72)		1001000	2200	1020	242	200	132	110	80	72	66	60
(73)		1001001	2201	1021	243	201	133	111	81	73	67	61
(74)		1001010	2202	1022	244	202	134	112	82	74	68	62
(75)		1001011	2210	1023	300	203	135	113	83	75	69	63
(76)		1001100	2211	1030	301	204	136	114	84	76	6†	64
(77)		1001101	2212	1031	302	205	140	115	85	77	70	65
(78)		1001110	2220	1032	303	210	141	116	86	78	71	66
(79)		1001111	2221	1033	304	211	142	117	87	79	72	67
(80)		1010000	2222	1100	310	212	143	120	88	80	73	68
(81)		1010001	10000	1101	311	213	144	121	100	81	74	69
(82)		1010010	10001	1102	312	214	145	122	101	82	75	6†
(83)		1010011	10002	1103	313	215	146	123	102	83	76	6†
(84)		1010100	10010	1110	314	220	150	124	103	84	77	70
(85)		1010101	10011	1111	320	221	151	125	104	85	78	71
(86)		1010110	10012	1112	321	222	152	126	105	86	79	72
(87)		1010111	10020	1113	322	223	153	127	106	87	7†	73
(88)		1011000	10021	1120	323	224	154	130	107	88	80	74
(89)		1011001	10022	1121	324	225	155	131	108	89	81	75
(90)		1011010	10100	1122	330	230	156	132	110	90	82	76
(91)		1011011	10101	1123	331	231	160	133	111	91	83	77
(92)		1011100	10102	1130	332	232	161	134	112	92	84	78
(93)		1011101	10110	1131	333	233	162	135	113	93	85	79
(94)		1011110	10111	1132	334	234	163	136	114	94	86	7†
(95)		1011111	10112	1133	340	235	164	137	115	95	87	7†
(96)		1100000	10120	1200	341	240	165	140	116	96	88	80
(97)		1100001	10121	1201	342	241	166	141	117	97	89	81
(98)		1100010	10122	1202	343	242	200	142	118	98	8†	82
(99)		1100011	10200	1203	344	243	201	143	120	99	90	83
(100)		1100100	10201	1210	400	244	202	144	121	100	91	84

The table might, of course, be indefinitely extended, but we have given enough, we think, to show how tables of any length and width might be constructed. A few remarks, however, will help to make matters still clearer.

We begin all the systems from *zero*, or *nothing*, because that is the law for the *beginning* of all created things, and also because it makes the grouping more symmetrical. The natural turning-point in the grouping is where the number of symbols of the combination changes, as we have indicated by a dash at the end of each group. It will be noticed also that each symbol, taken singly, has the same value in all the systems in

which it may be used that it has in our decimal system. Thus, the intrinsic value of the symbol 7 is *seven* always; but its *systematic* value depends, as we have seen, on its place in the line. To understand more clearly how the foregoing table was built up, and how it might be extended to any dimensions, let us take one of the systems and follow it through. Any one you please. The *septimal*, you say? Well, here goes.

In this system we have *seven* symbols (0 to 6 inclusively). We write them down, as in the table, in their regular order, till we have used them up. We can go no further with single symbols, for we have no more; hence, we must resort to combinations. We begin over again, therefore, by taking the first symbol which has a value of its own, viz., the 1, and move it one space to the left, and keep it there by means of our stop-gap, the 0, thus getting the combination 10 (one-naught), which is the first *systematic* number in this system. Its value is, of course, *seven*. We then go on by replacing the 0 by each of the other symbols in regular order, and thus get 10, 11, 12, etc., to 16, which last combination means *seven* and *six*, i.e., what we call *thirteen*. Here again we are stopped for want of symbols, and so we resort to other combinations by taking the next symbol, the 2, and putting it in the second rank, just as we did with the 1. This gives us the combination 20, meaning evidently $(2 \times 7) + 0 = \text{fourteen}$ in our parlance. Then 21, which is $(2 \times 7) + 1$, will be *fifteen*; 23 = *seventeen*; 26 = *twenty*. Another start will give us 30 = *twenty-one*, etc., to 36 = *twenty-seven*. When we have reached 66, i.e., $(6 \times 7) + 6 = \text{forty-eight}$, we are at the end of a group, and can do no more with only two symbols. So we will start afresh with our 1, and move it a second time to the left, thus getting 100. It is evident that this means $(1 \times 7 \times 7) + 0 = \text{forty-nine}$. Then all is plain sailing again (as 101 = *fifty*; 106 = *fifty-five*) till we reach 666, i.e., $(6 \times 7 \times 7) + (6 \times 7) + 6 = \text{three hundred and forty-two}$. Then our 1 makes another move, and we have 1000 or $(1 \times 7 \times 7 \times 7) + 0 = \text{three hundred and forty-three}$. Enough. The same method is applicable to any and every system, the only difference between them being in the *base*, and in the consequent number of symbols employed.

But we are so accustomed to the use of the *decimal* system, that, at first, it is difficult to *think* in any other; and, just as a person who is not quite familiar with a foreign language, finds it necessary to think in his own and then translate, so in dealing with these unfamiliar systems, it is necessary to know how to translate. To do this we might go back to the beginning (0) and build up the system to the desired spot. This would, in the case of large numbers, be very laborious, but we may arrive at the result, by a shorter cut, in using the following Rules:

1. To translate from the *decimal* to any other system.

Divide the given number by the base of the other system, and, on a line with the quotient, set down the remainder (even if it be a 0)—divide the quotient so obtained by the base again, for a new quotient and remainder, and so continue, until the last quotient is less than the base. This last quotient, with the several remainders in their backward order, will be the number required.

Example.—Translate 237,985 of our *decimal* system into the equivalent expression of the *ternal* system.

$$\begin{array}{r}
 3 \overline{) 237985} \\
 \underline{3 \overline{) 79328} 1} \\
 3 \overline{) 26442} 2 \\
 \underline{3 \overline{) 8814} 0} \\
 3 \overline{) 2938} 0 \\
 \underline{3 \overline{) 979} 1} \\
 3 \overline{) 326} 1 \\
 \underline{3 \overline{) 108} 2} \\
 3 \overline{) 36} 0 \\
 \underline{3 \overline{) 12} 0} \\
 3 \overline{) 4} 0 \\
 \underline{1} 1
 \end{array}$$

The required expression is therefore 110002110021.

2. To translate from any other system into the *decimal*.

Multiply the left-hand figure of the given number by the base of that other system, and add in the next figure at the right. Multiply the sum so obtained by the base again, and add in, as before, the next right-hand figure. Continue the successive multiplications until the last right-hand figure has been added. The last sum will be the given number expressed in the decimal system.

Example.—Translate 43021 of the *quinqual* system into its equivalent in the *decimal*.

$$43021$$

$$\underline{5}$$

$$20 + 3 = 23$$

$$\underline{5}$$

$$115 + 0 = 115$$

$$\underline{5}$$

$$575 + 2 = 577$$

$$\underline{5}$$

$$2885 + 1 = 2886 \text{ Answer.}$$

ARITHMETICAL OPERATIONS.

All the operations of arithmetic can be readily performed in any of the systems, and a little practice, with a clear head, would soon render one fairly an adept. We will give a few examples, say in the *quaternal* system.

Addition.

123 This, at first sight, looks crooked enough, but when we re-
 311 member that one remove towards the left means a fourfold (*not*
 232 a *tenfold*) increase, it straightens itself out immediately. The
 312 sum of the first column (at the right) is *nine*, and that is (2×4)
 131 + 1, or *two* to be carried to the column of the *fours*, and *one* left
 3101 for the column of units. The second column, including the

(NOTE.—In practice the adding will be done mentally.) It can be demonstrated that these Rules are exact for whole numbers, but the demonstration would require more space than we can afford. Fractions require a somewhat different treatment.

"carried" *two*, adds up to *twelve*, that is, *three* to be carried to the column of *sixteens*, and *zero* left over for the column of *fours*. Finally, the "carried" *three* being included, the third column foots up to *thirteen*, = $(3 \times 4) + 1$, that is, *three* for the fourth rank, and *one* left over for the third; so we have 3101 as a result.

Subtraction.

331032 Here again a little of the *quaternal* spirit is required to help
120233 us see how 3 from 2 leaves 3. The secret, a very open one, is,
210133 that the one (1) which we "borrow" from the next left-
hand rank is really *four* (not ten), which being added to the 2 makes
six, from which we take 3, and so have 3 for a remainder. The same
idea is to be kept in mind every time we "borrow" or "carry."

Multiplication.

3012 Don't forget that every *four*, in one rank, is to be carried
302 as a unit to the next, and all will be well.
12030
21102
2122230

Division.

132)121110(312 If a *decimal* boy were to bring *that* as an exam-
1122 ple of division, we should suspect a leak somewhere
231 in the brain; if a *quaternal* boy did *not* bring
132 that result, we would mildly inquire "Why not?"
330 What we have to say about fractions will come a
330 little later.

NUMERATION AS IT WAS AMONG THE ANCIENTS.

Now that we have glanced at a few of the possible systems of notation, the question that may suggest itself is: What is the use of it all? Why lead us through a labyrinth of *possible* systems when we have an *actual* one in daily use? Kind, patient reader, please allow us to answer your question by another. Suppose you had just emigrated to some other planet inhabited by rational beings like ourselves, but who as yet were totally unacquainted with any arithmetic, though just beginning to feel the need of the science of numbers. Suppose moreover you had been called thither for the express purpose of being their teacher in that branch. Knowing all you know now, which of the possible systems would you adopt in starting the arithmetic of your new world? A wrong choice here would entail on you many a left-handed blessing for all time to come. Reflect now. Were you to adopt the *unal* system, the æons of time would be too short to figure up your market bills. The *binat*, as we shall see, would have to be condemned on account of its interminable fractions. The *ternat* and *nonat* would be even worse in this respect, and the *quaternat* and *octaval* very little better, although the *expressions* would be more compact. The *quinqual*, *septimal* and

undecimal are simply horrid in this matter of interminate fractions. What then? Why, try the next, the *decimal* system. Unhappily for us our ancestors did so, or rather they stopped, unhappily, without looking farther. How came they to do so? It is hard to tell, but it is believed that our decimal system owes its origin to the *ten* fingers of the human hands. We have all counted on our fingers more or less, and the very word "digit," used both for "finger" and for "numerical symbol," seems to confirm this belief. However this may be, it is about certain that the forms of our symbols are derived from the Sanskrit, although other derivations have been suggested, and that the *decimal* system, as such, came from the Hindoos to the Arabs, by whom it was introduced into Europe not earlier than the eleventh century.

Among the ancient Hebrews and Greeks the decimal system was indeed in use, but in a very imperfect form, and what knowledge they had of it, was probably acquired through their intercourse with India. For symbols they relied on the letters of their alphabets; but as the Hebrew alphabet contained only twenty-two letters, five more symbols were invented, in order to make three groups of nine each. For the same reason the Greeks added three new symbols. The Hebrews put these new symbols at the end of their alphabet; the Greeks put one at the sixth place, one at the eighteenth, and the third at the end. Given now these twenty-seven symbols, the method of using them was the same with both nations. The first nine letters were used for our 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9; the second nine for our 10, 20, 30, 40, 50, 60, 70, 80, 90; the third nine for 100, 200, 300, 400, 500, 600, 700, 800, 900. In Greek usage an accent was placed over a letter when used as a numeral; when placed below the letter it increased its value a thousand times. M, used as a prefix, increased the value of a numeral ten-thousand times. Combinations were formed by placing these numeral letters in juxtaposition. For example, to indicate *two-hundred and seventy-nine*, a Greek would write $\sigma\delta\theta$, as if we were to write 200, 70, 9. Fractions were written, clumsily enough, by setting the *numerator* apart from the integer to which it belonged, and then the denominator a little higher up, as we write an exponent. They had nothing analogous to our decimal fractions.

The Romans seem to have got badly mixed. It is true that the idea of *ten* and its submultiple, *five*, runs through their notation, but the idea of *position* to determine the value of a symbol never worked its way into their brains. They used letters as numerals, all of which (except the unit, of course) are multiples of ten or five: thus, I = 1, V = 5, X = 10, L = 50, C = 100, D = 500, and M = 1000; but the value is not based upon alphabetical order. Many attempts have been made to account for these symbols, but no completely satisfactory solution has been reached; at best, we have only plausible guesses. The I to represent 1 is natural enough, being a single stroke. The V has been supposed to be the half of an X; but the X comes from where? Echo answers, "Where?" This X has been very aptly called the *crux*, the *cross*, of the Roman notation. We have either read somewhere, or

dreamed, that the V as a numeral was derived from the appearance of the human hand held up, in which the *five* fingers point out radially, like a bunch of carrots, the thumb and little finger making an angle with each other of about 45° . Now, leave out the three middle fingers, for the sake of brevity, and the outline left is a perfect V. After that, the X is simply two V's placed point to point. The L may be the half of the old square form of C ($\square$), and C was probably adopted as being the initial of *Centum*, a hundred; and M, in like manner, because it is the initial of *Mille*, a thousand. The ancient rounded form of M was like this: CIO; and one-half of this IO later on became D, or 500.

However all this may be, the Romans contrived, by means of repetitions and combinations of these numeral letters, to express whatever ideas they had of numbers. To do so, they not only employed their symbols *additatively*, but, strangely enough, in the case of I and X, *subtractively* also. When either I or X stood at the left of a number larger than itself, it was to be subtracted, as $V = 5$, but $IV = 4$; $X = 10$, but $IX = 9$; and $XL = 50 - 10 = 40$; but, $VI = 6$, $XI = 11$, $LX = 60$, etc. Another element of confusion was introduced by such forms as $IIX = 8$, $XIIX = 18$, $XXC = 80$, etc.

The Roman schoolboy must have had a hard tussle in his arithmetical work with such an insane notation, and was doubtless glad when the time came to exchange his stylus and tablet for a sword and shield.

Such was, in outline, numeration among the ancients.

NUMERATION AS IT IS AMONG OURSELVES.

The so-called Arabic, or decimal, system of numeration, which found its way into Europe six or seven hundred years ago, was certainly a vast improvement on the Hebrew, Greek, and Roman systems. It had, indeed, so much to recommend it, that it won its way through nearly the whole civilized world. Besides this, during the past hundred years a strong effort has been continuously applied, in certain quarters to make it the basis of all measurements, *i.e.*, to make all our measures and weights, whether of solids, liquids, or gases, start from one common standard, and to have all the multiples and submultiples of that standard arranged according to the decimal scale. The French *metric* system is the realization of this idea, and receives its name from the chosen unit of length, the *metre*. This system has been adopted and made obligatory, in France, Prussia, Italy, Spain, and in some minor countries; but, although rendered legal in Great Britain in 1864, and in the United States in 1866, it has never taken root among English-speaking nations. That it has not, shows conclusively that there is something radically wrong with the decimal system itself. Just in what that wrongness consists will presently appear. We are not sorry, then, that the *decimometric* system has failed to establish itself; not, indeed, that we are in love with our own barbarous standards of weights and measures, which are so bad that human ingenuity could hardly have invented worse, but because we are convinced that infinitely better can be done; and *that better* will consist in throwing over the whole concern, the *decimal* sys-

tem of numbers included, and in putting in place thereof, the *duodecimal* system. We can then, *with very slight*, and *surprisingly few changes*, bring all our weights and measures of every kind, with their multiples and subdivisions, into strict correspondence with the *base* of our system of notation. The saving in time and labor with a *duodecimo-metric* system would be simply incalculable, and men and nations yet unborn would look back and bless us for having delivered them from the thralldom of the *decimal*.

T. J. A. FREEMAN, S. J.

[Greatly to our regret the space occupied by preceding articles compels us to exclude from this number of the REVIEW the remainder of Father Freeman's very valuable and important paper, in which he clearly shows the great superiority of the duodecimal system of enumeration over the decimal, in facilitating accurate scientific calculations, and also in practical business arithmetic. The subject will be resumed by Father Freeman in the next number of the REVIEW—ED.]

Book Notices.

LETTERS OF ARCHBISHOP ULLATHORNE. Large 8vo., cloth, pp. 550. London: Burns & Oates. New York: Benziger Brothers.

Cardinal Newman has well said that a man's life is best found written in his letters. Archbishop Ullathorne was an extensive letter writer, and the editors of this volume have selected so well from a correspondence beginning in 1842 and ending in 1889, that a just notion may be gathered of the mind and character of the writer.

Archbishop Ullathorne was an active, learned, pious churchman, during an important half century of the Church in England, and his connection with men and measures, together with his estimates of them, as told in his correspondence, makes useful and interesting reading. The sequence of events is generally nicely preserved, because for the most part the letters are arranged in chronological order. * The editors originally intended to print only distinctively spiritual letters, assuming that those who would read the letters would also read the Archbishop's excellent autobiography, but they changed their minds and made the collection general. It is well they did so. It is hardly fair in preparing a book for the press to assume that every one has read a preceding volume with which it has no necessary connection, or to compel readers of the second volume to go to the first for explanations. According to the present arrangement, those who wish to read the life of Archbishop Ullathorne may do so either in his autobiography or in his letters.

A great many of these letters are addressed to religious communities of women, or to members of them, and they are full of wise spiritual direction on all the virtues of the spiritual life. The writer had introduced several communities into his diocese, and he often said that a

bishop should be a true spiritual father to nuns. They were the object of his peculiar and devoted care, and the day before he died, when his death was momentarily expected, he said slowly and solemnly: "I have been thinking that if there is anything in my life that may induce God to have mercy on me, it is that I have never forgotten to take care of His nuns."

His letters from Rome, while attending the Vatican Council, are very interesting, although they do not deal with the controversies of the occasion at all. There are some interesting word pictures of the public ceremonies, and the rest is devoted to short descriptions of persons and places in Rome or near to it. He gives an unusually interesting sketch of the life and death of Bishop Grant, for so many years rector of the English College at Rome. Indeed, the sketch, though brief, is quite complete. Archbishop Ullathorne consecrated Cardinal Manning, and there are several interesting letters to that distinguished prelate.

He speaks highly of Father Faber's book on the Blessed Sacrament, calling it a most profound book and a complete course of theology, both on the Trinity and Incarnation, Grace and the Blessed Sacrament. He adds that it is written with brilliancy and eloquence.

He seems to have been endowed with the spirit of prophecy when he said, after the final surrender of the French forces to the Germans in 1870: "A republic in France means the government of the lowest set of unbelievers."

The archbishop found time in the midst of his many dioceses and labors to write several books and pamphlets. We can understand how constantly he worked when we read in one of his letters that, while engaged in writing a reply to Gladstone's work called, "The Vatican Decrees in their Bearing on Civil Allegiance," he devoted to it ten hours a day for fourteen days. The result was a pamphlet of eighty pages. His opinion of Gladstone was not complimentary. He applies to him a passage in Gonzales to the effect that a man who is constantly making fine speeches is never a good ruler. He sums up his estimate of him in this way: "My theory of Gladstone is, that if his head is ever anatomized, there will be found an ossification between the religious and the political lobes of his brain. They never can come together."

His analysis of Carlyle is even more brief and comprehensive. He says: "Carlyle is a great pagan philosopher, superinduced on a baptized Christian."

In his old age he read nearly all of George Eliot's books, and he speaks thus of her work: "Her books are certainly wonderful in their analysis of human motives, and of natural virtues as well as vices, and most happy in expression. . . . Their knowledge of human nature is wonderful in matter and expression; their ignorance of the supernatural is amazing. . . . This is one of the most insidious evils of her books, that what grace alone could accomplish is invariably ascribed to the working of nature. . . . They are unhealthy in tone, owing to the mind from which they sprang." His criticism of a late popular novel is not more favorable. He says of "Robert Ellsmere": "It is a vile book, on which Gladstone was foolish enough to write an article."

For several years the Archbishop and that gifted writer, Kathleen O'Mara, corresponded with each other. Even long before they met, he had recognized her genius in her letters, and they admired each other. This series of letters contains some beautiful thoughts.

He had an exalted idea of literature. He never accepted money for his writings. These are his words: "On principle, I never accept money for my writings. The making a trade of writing has corrupted

all literature. It is quite a modern thing, some 200 years old. No man ought to balance the fruits of intellect against money. There is no proportion between the two things."

Wonderful changes took place in the Church during the Archbishop's active life. Speaking on this subject, he says: "I have certainly seen wonderful changes in my day, both in the expansion of the Church in this country and the transmutation of the doctrines of Anglicanism. But the most remarkable thing that I have witnessed is the expansion of the Church in Australia. When I arrived in that country, in 1833, there were but three priests, whilst now there is a Cardinal Archbishop, four archbishops, twenty-two bishops, and nearly one thousand priests."

It seems to us, however, that the most delightful part of this delightful book is that which tells of the long friendly relations between Archbishop Ullathorne and Cardinal Newman. The cardinal's first public appearance as a Catholic was made on the occasion of Archbishop Ullathorne's consecration. The archbishop appreciated highly the cardinal's great learning and piety, and he did much by his kind words to encourage the more timid spirit. On all important occasions, upon the appearance of a book, the elevation to new dignity, the establishment of a new house, by letter or a personal visit, the archbishop expressed his appreciation. He was very instrumental in procuring Dr. Newman's consent to accept the position of cardinal. The fear of being compelled to spend the latter part of his life in Rome; the thought of the pomp and expense attached to the new office, frightened the simple old man and prompted him to decline the new dignity. Archbishop Ullathorne quieted all his fears, and by judicious correspondence with Dr. Newman and with the authorities brought about that nice understanding which made the child a cardinal, and gave to the world a cardinal child.

It was in connection with this matter that the Archbishop wrote, "How few persons comprehend a genius! You have only, however, to take into account that the child's intuition, sensitiveness, and simplicity are carried through the life of the man, and the thing is done." He thus speaks of Cardinal Newman's feelings after his elevation: "The cardinal in his life has had many depressions, but now, as he himself remarks, the cloud is lifted."

It is hard for worldly, ambitious persons to understand the worth of humility. But surely there is no safer test of worth and greatness. Cardinal Newman understood this, and in a letter written by Archbishop Ullathorne August 18, 1887, we have a proof of it. He says: "I have been visiting Cardinal Newman to-day. He is much wasted, but very cheerful. . . . We had a long and cheery talk, but as I was rising to leave an action of his caused a scene I shall never forget, for its sublime lesson to myself. He said in low and humble accents, 'My Dear Lord, will you do me a great favor?' 'What is it?' I asked. He glided down on his knees, bent down his venerable head and said, 'Give me your blessing.' What could I do with him before me in such a posture? I could not refuse without giving him great embarrassment. So I laid my hand on his head and said: 'My dear Lord Cardinal, notwithstanding all laws to the contrary, I pray God to bless you, and that His Holy Spirit may be full in your heart;' as I walked to the door, refusing to put on his biretta as he went with me, he said: 'I have been indoors all my life, whilst you have battled for the Church in the world.' I felt annihilated in his presence; there is a saint in that man."

But we could go on quoting almost indefinitely from this full storehouse of good things. The book is delightful and instructive, not only on account of the great amount of spiritual instruction that it contains,

but also because of the glimpses that it gives of the great and good men of the times. It is a book that one can take up for five minutes or an hour with the assurance of finding in it something interesting. It is a book that will live.

A FORMULARY OF THE PAPAL PENITENTIARY IN THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.
 Edited by Henry Charles Lea, LL.D. Philadelphia: Lee Brothers & Co. 1892.

The MS. here published was obtained by Mr. Lea from a bookseller in Berlin, "who," he says, "can tell me nothing of its *provenance* save that it formed part of a purchase made in Italy in 1889. It occurs at the end of a volume entitled '*Forme curie romane super beneficiis et questionibus*,' and consists of fifty unnumbered pages on fine vellum." The title, as given by the original writer, is "*Forme Romane curie composite a Magistro Thomasio bone memorie presbytero Cardinali super casibus penitentie*." Mr. Lea suggests, as the most probable identification of the compiler, the name of Jacobus Thomasius Gaetanus, a nephew of Boniface VIII., who was cardinal-priest of St. Clement's from 1295 to 1300. Whether this surmise be correct or not, the compilation is evidently the work of some official connected with the *Pœnitentiaria*. It is a neatly arranged collection of decisions rendered by the supreme tribunal of Penance, and designed to furnish precedents and forms for the expediting of similar cases.

The tribunal of the *Pœnitentiaria* is the medium through which the Supreme Pontiff exercises the power committed to him by Christ of *loosing*, of forgiving sins and remitting the penalties due to sins. Through it the Pope, as supreme and universal Pastor and Confessor, solves intricate cases of conscience, grants pardon to the repentant sinner, and relaxes in individual instances the rigor of general laws. The power of dispensing and pardoning is so essentially included in the primacy, that it is impossible to conceive of the one without the other. There is not the slightest indication to be found in this collection of any consciousness upon the part of the Holy See that a "newly-established papal autocracy" was in process of "consolidation and perpetuation." The principle which underlies all the applications for pardons and dispensations, and the granting of them, is the easily comprehensible one that to the supreme power in the Church is reserved the prerogative of dealing with violations of general laws. A large proportion of the cases before us deals with instances in which *irregularities* had been incurred. Irregularity, in the canonical sense, is ineligibility to ecclesiastical office, or, in the case of incumbents, incapacity for performing ecclesiastical functions. As might have been expected from a mediæval document, the first category of cases concerns the sin of simony. By a strict and general law of the Church, this sin rendered all concerned irregular, and the only remedy was a penitential recourse to the Holy See. It is edifying to observe, and it has been noticed by Mr. Lea himself, how delicate the consciences of mediæval Catholics were in this matter. Even when a benefice had been obtained through simony of friends or parents without the knowledge of the incumbent, recourse had to be made to Rome, and only in exceptional cases was a dispensation granted.

Take the following (No. 10) as an illustration. It will be observed that, as usual with the Roman Penitentiary, the name of the petitioner is carefully withheld.

"To the Bishop of Bologna: We learn from your letter that —, the bearer of this, having formerly through the simoniacal practices of

his parents obtained possession of a certain church, had recourse to the Apostolic See, and on the strength of a letter from you, in which you prayed that a merciful dispensation should be granted to him on account of his ignorance of the crime, he was permitted, upon resigning into your hands the church thus obtained, to exercise the orders already received. However, you hesitated to restore him to said church, though his conduct had been irreproachable ; and you have sent him back to us, in order that he might receive more abundant favor from the provident care of the Apostolic See. We, therefore, having read your commendatory letter respecting him, commit the matter to you, with authority, if evident utility or urgent necessity demand, that you by dispensation admit him *de novo* to his church, provided there be no other canonical objection."

We have quoted this case fully, for it is a typical instance of the wisdom with which the Holy See has at all times tempered justice with mercy. Mr. Lea, blinded with prejudice against everything Roman, draws from this and from similar interventions of the Holy See the very opposite conclusion. In his eyes, the Sacred Penitentiary was a money-making invention. "Of course," he says, after uttering this astounding calumny, "in the Formulary here printed there is no direct evidence of all this, for the very nature of the letters addressed to the prelates of the culprits precludes any allusions to such traffic, but the internal evidence is strong. In rubrics vi. to xi, the difference in the orders of restoration to benefices resigned on account of simony is strongly suggestive of difference in the liberality of the several penitents. Equally suggestive is the almost uniformly favorable character of the decisions which, except in cases involving heresy or opposition to papal authority, lean to the side of mercy, reckless of the damage to morals and discipline. In many cases, indeed, bribery is the readiest explanation of the uncalled for lenity shown."

It would surely be time wasted, if one undertook to argue with a man so utterly impervious to reason. There is not in this entire collection of decisions of the Roman tribunal, nor anywhere else we know of, an instance in which the Catholic Church was guilty of the crime of simony, the crime which she has bitterly opposed ever since St. Peter confounded Simon Magus. As for the absolution of those who were in any way culpable of this or any other crime, her doctrine and practice have been ever the same, viz., to receive the prodigal child with mingled gentleness and severity. It was extremely seldom that the Pope himself gave absolution ; in the vast majority of cases, the guilty party was remanded to his bishop, with a document empowering the latter to absolve, if the penitent were truthful and otherwise well disposed.

The author would have spared his reader the thirty-eight pages of vituperation of Rome, with which he chooses to introduce this Formulary to the world, if he had been able to make a distinction between the Roman Penitentiary and the Roman Chancery. The granting of bishoprics and benefices was no part of the Cardinal Penitentiary's functions. His office was to forgive sins in reserved cases. These reserved cases were those violations of the general laws which entailed excommunication or irregularity. Hence, in this compilation, the first thirteen rubrics refer to cases of simony. Next follow cases of persons who had been excommunicated for slaying or striking clergymen. Then come the different cases of irregularity incurred from various causes. The procedure of the supreme tribunal is invariably the same—to uphold the law, unless some strong mitigating circumstance may have intervened to persuade a relaxation. The most of these cases were referred to Rome

by the bishops; whenever the facts were not obtained by letter from the bishop, the culprit was referred to him for examination, and absolution after a suitable penance. We have no intention of following Mr. Lea in his anti-Roman tirade, a rambling diatribe which confutes itself by its own virulence. In view of the severity with which the Holy See deals with culprits throughout this collection, it is amusing to hear Mr. Lee inveigh against Roman "lenity." If it had suited his purpose, he might have just as easily attacked the Penitentiary on the score of sternness. Whilst we must thank the author for having brought this interesting work to public notice, we must regret that he saw fit to inflict his Introduction upon us. It is no credit to American "science," but may be useful to anti-Catholic scribblers of tracts.

SOUND AND MUSIC. By the *Rev. J. A. Zahm, C.S.C.*, Professor of Physics in the University of Notre Dame. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 1892.

The long contest waged between the exclusively classical curriculum in our colleges and universities, and the youthful but vigorous claimant to academic recognition known by its comprehensive title of "Natural Science," has resulted in the steady victory of the latter. It first of all demanded but a modest share of the attention of collegians; but once installed in the home of ancient traditions it has silently but surely pushed its way forward to a position of commanding eminence. It has certainly "come to stay," if not, indeed, to dominate, in the not distant future, the old course of study. Whether the changes wrought by its introduction and the power which its present conquests prophesy for the future, be wholly agreeable to those who look for the best good of students, may be a very debatable question. It has been, and is still, debated hotly; and we call attention to the silent revolution going on in the curriculum of studies in our colleges, not for the purpose of argument, but merely to point to the fact of its rapid progress. Time has abundantly satisfied the pleadings of Huxley and the prophecy uttered by Tyndall in the preface to the first edition, published in 1867, of his now classical work on Sound: "There is a growing desire," says that distinguished scientist, "for scientific culture throughout the civilized world. The feeling is natural, and, under the circumstances, inevitable. For a power which influences so mightily the intellectual and material action of the age could not fail to arrest attention and challenge examination. In our schools and universities a movement in favor of science has begun which, no doubt, will end in the recognition of its claims, both as a source of knowledge and as a means of discipline." But this is not the only victory of Science—(we courteously employ its self-assumed title, rather than the argumentative one of "natural disciplines")—nor the only prophecy of its future domination. The "University Extension Course" reminds us that it has a large *clientèle* among the masses of this much-reading generation.

Now while this peculiar educational movement has grown to such proportions that it cannot be thwarted, it may at least be directed into safe courses. The chair, the rostrum, the magazine, nay, the daily press, seem too often delighted to discern in its progress a menace to revealed truth, and have, alas! too often used it as a ready weapon against divine faith. The position best open to the Catholic apologist in such a movement is, it seems to the present writer, to forestall bigotry and incredulity by the rational process of furnishing the reading public with books on scientific subjects which shall present the simple facts of science without coloring of disputation, and in a popular, in-

telligible, readable style. If the people *must* be fascinated by science, let them gratify their yearning in books free from inuendoes, slurs, cheap declamation, and false logic. But in order to create such a scientific literature as shall at once appeal to the popular taste, and be free from the intangible coloring and distorting of facts so common to scientific writers of our day, it will be necessary to have works which, in point of the general scholarship, scientific attainments and agreeable literary style of the writers, and of the inviting typography of the volumes, shall not fall below the present standard of popular scientific publications.

In view of all these requirements we can find matter only for gratification in such an excellent installment as "Sound and Music" in the literature of the movement we have been describing. The general scholarship of Father Zahm, even if it were not known to the public in the writings he has already published, would be evident from the perusal of this latest work. His scientific acquirements need no comment. In the preparation of his book he has availed himself of the valuable assistance of Professor Mayer and Dr. Koenig—a name of very distinguished eminence in the department of acoustics. Father Zahm's literary style combines agreeableness, raciness, and strong idiomatic English. With regard to the typography we have only to say that its faultless elegance even exceeds the high standard of the volumes issued by Messrs. McClurg & Co., which have come under our notice; while the numerous illustrations are the best we have seen in any similar work, and the binding is strong and attractive. We can therefore safely recommend the work in all desirable respects.

Although suggested by a course of lectures delivered at the Catholic University of America at Washington, it includes the results of so much revision and addition as to prove practically a new work. It retains, however, the lecture form, and in so doing preserves, like Tyndall's "Sound," the vivacity and attractiveness of the spoken word. While giving to the reader the latest experimentation and the latest discoveries and theories in an exceedingly interesting department of Physics, and showing *in extenso* the physical relationships existing between *Sound* and *Music*, it does not yield to scientific dryness, but presents its subject-matter in a dress of good, expressive English, adorned with pleasing illustrations drawn from the history of acoustics, from mythology, philosophy, and poetry. The interest of the reader cannot flag in such a delightful presentation of the subject.

The style the author has adopted will recommend it to the study of those for whom he principally intended it: "The main purpose of this book is to give musicians and general readers an exact knowledge, based on experiment, of the principles of acoustics, and to present at the same time a brief exposition of the physical basis of harmony." A very copious index facilitates reference to the many topics discussed in this volume of over 400 pages. The author's discussion of the subjects of Equal Temperament, Pure Intonation, and the Pythagorean Scale as compared with our modern diatonic scale, will be found instructive and suggestive. We are glad to observe that in the demonstration of the relationships between the vibrations recognized as Sound and the æsthetic appreciation of a certain succession or combination of sounds as Music, the author bases his inferences on a strictly scientific view of the various phenomena of sound. And so, he apparently considers, with M. Fétis, that our diatonic scale is not founded on some law of nature, but is purely conventional. In so doing he can well avoid entering into the vague subtleties of the musical theorist, who

must see in the æsthetic influences of melody suggestions of its physical basis in some hidden order of nature. The question, "What is Music?" has been answered by the theorist in many cosmic relations. Mr. Rice, in his little book bearing that title, prefaces his own theory with some account of the answers to be found in the mythology of the Chinese, Hindoos, Greeks, and in the theories of Euler, Herbert Spencer, and Helmholtz. But whatever view be asserted, it should take cognizance of the patent historical fact that scales differing most widely in the constitution of their intervals have, nevertheless, exercised the greatest æsthetic influences on different peoples. This could scarcely happen if the order and intervals of our modern diatonic scale, or of the Pythagorean, had a clearly defined basis in some natural law. But while modern science cannot assert such relationship between any scale and nature, it can furnish a very plausible explanation of the different æsthetic effects of consonances and dissonances, and can suggest the propriety of introducing a new factor in harmony—the sub-minor seventh, concerning which the author thinks that "in the music of the future it may be reckoned as a consonance" (p. 400).

ST. PETER AND THE FIRST YEARS OF CHRISTIANITY. By the *Abbe Constant Foward*. Translated from the Second Edition with the author's sanction, by George F. X. Griffith. With an introduction by Cardinal Gibbons. Pp. 422. New York and London: Longmans, Green & Co.

In the rapid development of English Catholic literature, great attention has been paid to the Prince of the Apostles. About that sacred figure has grown a literature in our tongue, which seems to participate in the impregnability of the very Rock itself on which the Church is founded. Witness the great and unanswerable works of Kenrick, Allies, Palmer, Murphy, Livius and a host of other treatises, large and small—all devoted to this special theme. These works have for the most part, however, a special end in view. They are controversial in their character, defending from the Scriptures, tradition and ecclesiastical history the position which St. Peter and his successors occupy by divine right in the constitution of the Church as founded by our Lord—and are mainly directed against the attacks of Protestant writers and teachers. This department of English Catholic literature can now fairly be considered as complete. The prerogatives of St. Peter and his successors in the See of Rome have been nobly defended in works accessible to English readers of every class. One work, perhaps, is still needed for the completion of Petrine controversial literature, and that is a critical and exhaustive treatise on the duration of St. Peter's residence at Rome.

The work of the illustrious author, then, appears at a happy time in its English form, and crowns our Petrine literature with the pages of peace. Controversy is not found in the body of the work, and the little that appears in the brief appendix in no way interferes with the irenic character of the entire volume.

The work presents to us a picture of the Apostolic Church in its surroundings, with St. Peter in the foreground. There are master sketches of a number of the great representatives of the Apostolic age, St. Peter, St. Stephen, St. Philip, St. Paul, St. Matthew and his Gospel, and St. Mark and his Gospel. To the separate consideration of these great characters a large portion of the work is devoted, and each special chapter is complete in itself, filled with historical instruction and replete with the conclusions derived from the learning and research of the author.

Intermingled with these chapters is another series treating upon the environments of the apostolic Church. Probably no more instructive

and interesting chapter can be found in the volume than is the one of twenty-eight pages on "The Jews of the Dispersion" and their influence upon the surrounding pagan world—sowing the Messianic seed which was soon to spring up into a great spiritual harvest under the Christian Apostles. Hardly less graphic and attractive are the chapters on the moral condition of the pagan world, on Antioch, on the Religion of Rome, on the Conduct of Life under Augustus, and on the Stoics of the Empire.

Vivacity, brilliancy at times, pervades the entire volume. There is no dulness to be found in the pages. As his Eminence, Cardinal Gibbons, writes in the introduction: "Jerusalem, Rome, Antioch, are no longer to us mere names recalling only faint images of ancient cities. We see them; we walk their streets, we catch the voices and the thoughts of the crowds that throng them; we watch with wonder the divine seed as it springs to life and spreads and flourishes amid the worst forms of moral decay.

The perfect and elegant English diction abundantly proves the talents of the translator, and we congratulate him upon his energy and tact in selecting and giving to the English readers two such works as "The Life of Our Lord" and the present one in so short a time. We hope that he will also add the third work, that on St. Paul, on which Abbe Fouard is at present engaged.

THE MANNA OF THE SOUL; or Meditations for Every Day in the Year. By *Father Paul Segneri*. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

We heartily welcome this second edition of Father Segneri's work—The Manna of the Soul—now presented to the American public. Hardly necessary is it to state that the learned and holy author's name occupies a prominent place among the standard writers on spiritual life. His works have long since been translated into all the European languages; and through many editions, regularly coming from the press, have attained a widespread popularity over the continent of Europe—a true testimonial to their merit.

The title of the two volumes under notice is in itself suggestive of a series of meditations for every day in the year. Manna, the heaven-sent daily bread which supported the Israelites during their sojourn on the dreary, unfertile wastes of the desert, is a figure of holy meditation, the daily food of the soul, supporting it on its pilgrimage to eternity, giving it renewed vigor amidst the ceaseless war with the passions. Each meditation of the work is founded upon some text of Sacred Scripture, the selections embracing quotations from all the books, both of the Old and the New Testament. The writer, in the preface, says: "To manna was given in Holy Writ the name at one time of 'the Word of the Lord'; at another, of 'the Word that goeth forth from the mouth of God.' In order, then, that I might be able to apply to your soul this life-giving restorative, I came to the determination to put together such a supply as would be sufficient to feed you for the entire year."

Not only are the points of consideration taken from the Scriptures; but the deductions and conclusions are, for the most part, clothed in Scriptural texts. To preachers, therefore, the work will be found invaluable, as the many apt citations of the Word of God, with their mystical inferences, cannot fail, if deeply pondered and permanently fixed in his mind, to be of lasting use in the composition of discourses for the faithful. Unlike many other books of meditation, "The Manna of the

Soul" is not burdened with too frequent allusions to the observance of rules of community life, but like the manna, "suited to what every man liked," is adapted to all conditions and states of life. We trust that this second edition will be well received by both clergy and laity and thus its aims of leading souls to higher perfection will continue to be fulfilled.

A CHRISTIAN APOLOGY. By *Paul Schanz, D.D., D.Ph.*, Professor of Theology at the University of Tübingen. Translated by *Rev. Michael F. Glancey*, Inspector of Schools in the Diocese of Birmingham and *Rev. Victor J. Schobal, D.D.*, Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St. Mary's Oscott. In three volumes. Vol. III. The Church. 1892. New York & Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet, Printer to the Holy See and the Sacred Congregation of Rites.

If not the most important, we have no hesitation in saying that this third and last volume of Dr. Schanz's work will prove to many the most interesting, perhaps the most profitable.

"Finality and Development of Christian Revelation." "The Kingdom of God." "The Church According to Scripture." "The Church Apostolic." "The Church One." "The Church Catholic." "The Church Infallible." "The Church Necessary for Salvation." "The Church Holy." "Scripture and Tradition." "The Primacy of St. Peter." "The Primacy of the Pope." "The Infallibility of the Pope." "The Church and Civilization." These are the subjects whose treatment forms the contents of this third volume. As we have said, we do not hold them to be more important than the questions treated in the two preceding volumes; yet, because of their nearness to us; because, if we may so put it, they are present living questions, bearing, in greater or less degree, upon our daily lives, they will appeal to many with keener interest.

How well, how learnedly and soundly the subjects of this volume are treated, we need hardly take pains to tell the reading public. The work of Dr. Schanz, which so honestly and ably has been given us in this English translation has long held the very highest place in German theological literature, and is clearly the most thorough, the soundest work of the kind in the English language. We especially direct the student's attention to the treatment of the "Primacy of Peter," of the "Primacy of the Pope," of the "Church Infallible" and the "Infallibility of the Pope." So ably, so minutely complete an exposition of those great questions we cannot recall ever having studied. We should like to see this great work condensed and then put into the hands of our ecclesiastical students. It would, we are sure, be a source of highest good.

The closing chapter—The Church and Civilization—of this great work is a most happy, most admirable climax to the magnificent treatise, bringing before us, as it does, in most vivid realization, the living, concrete work of the Church among men.

BLESSED LOUIS MARIE GRIGNON DE MONTFORT (Missionary Apostolic, Founder of the Company of Mary and the Daughters of Wisdom) and his Devotion. By a Secular Priest, author of a translation of "The Virgin Mother of God; or, the Marian Writings of St. Bernard," "Tauler's Meditations on the Life and Passion of Our Lord, Etc. Vols. I. and II. London Art and Book Co. New York, Etc.: Benziger Bros. 1892.

This is a very delightful work. It is the story, beautifully told, of as sweet a life as ever lived on this earth. It is, moreover, at the same time, a splendid treatise on devotion to the Mother of God. Not that it sets itself up for such, but from its necessary dealing with the won-

drous union that existed between the subject of its pages and God's Mother. The work is written with far more than ordinary ability. We commend it to Catholics generally. We should like to see it in the hands of our Catholic laity, feeling assured that it would be conducive to great and far-reaching good. To the priest and religious it will be a source of strength and consolation. The story of lives such as Blessed Louis Marie's comes to us like voices from heaven for our encouragement.

CONSTITUTIONES DOGMATICÆ SACROSANCTI ŒCUMENICI CONCILII VATICANI EX IPSIS EIUS ACTIS EXPLICATÆ ATQUE ILLUSTRATÆ. By *Theodoro Grandérath*, S. J. St. Louis: B. Herder. \$1.35 net.

In the interpretation of all laws, and particularly of doctrinal laws of the Church, it is very important to study the sources from which the laws are drawn. As the author of this book well says, there would not be so much difference of opinion among theologians about certain decrees of the Fourth Council of Lateran and the Council of Trent, if we had at hand the sources whence those decrees were drawn, the original drafts of them, the amendments that were proposed to them, and the discussions that took place in regard to them. All this information he gives about the Vatican Council, and he remarks that it is possible to do this for the Vatican Council more fully than for any other, because the necessary documents are in existence. The book is really a history of the Vatican Council for theologians, and the work is so well done, by an author so eminently qualified to do it, that it should certainly produce the result intended.

ZEAL IN THE WORK OF THE MINISTRY; or, the Means by which every Priest may render his Ministry honorable. By *L'Abbe Dubois*, Honoraire de Coutances. Translated from the Fifth French Edition by *C. A. Comes de G. Liancourt*. Second English Edition. New York, Cincinnati and Chicago: Benziger Brothers.

There is not room for two opinions about this work. It is thorough, comprehensive, and eminently practical, and is animated throughout with the spirit of Christian wisdom, prudence, piety and love.

SOCIALE FRAGE UND SOCIALE ORDNUNG DER INSTITUTIONEN ODER GESELLSCHAFTS-LEHRE. Von *Fr. Albert Maria Wesig*, O. Pr. Theile I. and II., pp. 1026. Herder: St. Louis. 1892.

These volumes reach us too late for adequate review in our present number. We shall refer to them in our next. Meanwhile we recommend them to our readers as a thoroughly philosophical and Christian study of the elements and structure of human society.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

JESUS THE ALL BEAUTIFUL. A devotional treatise on the character and actions of our Lord. By the author of "The Voice of the Sacred Heart," and "The Heart of Jesus of Nazareth." Edited by the Rev. J. B. Macleod, S. J. London: Burns & Oates, Limited. 1892.

DIE GROSSEN WELTRÄTHSEL. PHILOSOPHIE D. NATUR. Von *Tilmann Pesch*, S. J. Zweite, verbesserte, Auflage. Ersten Band, Philos. Naturerklärung. Pp. xxv., 799. 8vo. Zweiter Band, Naturphilosoph. Weltauffassung. Pp. xii., 616. Herder: St. Louis. 1892.

THE CEREMONIES OF SOME ECCLESIASTICAL FUNCTIONS. By the Rev. *Daniel O. Loan*, Dean, Maynooth College. Dublin: Browne & Nolan. New York: Benziger Brothers.

